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**The Chilean Catholic Church and the Social Question.
Changes and Continuities in Catholic Thought in Chile, 1891-1935**

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Abstract

The Chilean Catholic Church and the Social Question. Changes and Continuities in Catholic Thought in Chile, 1891-1935

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The goal of this report is to analyze what was going on about Catholic social teaching in Chile between 1891 and 1935, having as milestones the two main Encyclical about the Social Question, *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). This study will explore and analyze the lives and thoughts of four Chilean priests who were deeply concerned with the Social Question: Mariano Casanova (1833-1908), Archbishop of Santiago between 1886 and 1908; Juan Ignacio González (1844-1918), Archbishop of Santiago between 1908 and 1918; Martín Rucker (1867-1935), Bishop of Chillán between 1923 and 1935; and the Jesuit Fernando Vives (1871-1935), who, although he was never appointed to a higher level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, had a polemical role in public opinion about the Social question that cost him two long exiles. The argument of this report is that between 1891 and 1935 the Chilean Catholic thought about the

Social Question had changes and continuities. Among the first, there are the change of the focus of catholic action from charity to justice, or about the role of the State. The permanencies had to do with the traditional concept that the Catholic Church held, despite its efforts for having a more active role in the modern world. The main examples are the paternalistic attitude towards the workers and the consequent rejection of social mobility. The condition of the poor could be improved, but they always, and their children, would belong to the working class. It was a hierarchical vision of a class society. This contradiction, finally, explains why one of the main purposes of the Catholic social teaching did not succeed: stopping the spread of socialism. Even more, although it had an active goal about the Social Question, the Catholic Church could not stop secularization either.

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Note on translations

Except when otherwise noted, all translations in this report are my own. In most cases, I have reproduced the original words or phrases in the footnotes.

THE CHILEAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES IN CATHOLIC THOUGHT IN CHILE 1891-1935

Introduction.

On May 15, 1976, when the Pinochet dictatorship was exercising the most ruthless repression against its opponents and the Catholic Church was one of the few actors that could do something in favor of them, the Archbishop of Santiago, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, celebrated a mass in the Cathedral of Santiago to commemorate the eighty-fifth anniversary of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. He called for unity in Chilean society:

Today, when we commemorate the 85th anniversary when an old Pastor, paying no attention to the conventionalisms of his time and to the bond that could bind the Church with the powerful people, claimed the right of the poor, we say today as well: We want society of the future do not be a slaves' society. In any way of thinking, any modality, any system, any ideology.¹

With these words, Cardinal Silva called for the same thing that Pope Leo XIII had in 1891: neither liberalism, nor socialism. The Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* was the first official document from the Vatican that showed concern for the situation of the world's working classes through an organized corpus of ideas. It is considered the foundation of modern Catholic social teaching. Recognizing that capitalism did a great deal of harm for the condition of the working class and that socialism represented a terrible threat to the

¹ Raúl Silva Henríquez, 85 [i.e. Ochenta Y Cinco] Años Encíclica "Rerum Novarum": Homilía (Santiago: Ediciones Mundo, 1976), 12. "Nosotros, en este día que conmemoramos 85 años de cuando un viejo Pastor, pasando por encima de todas las conveniencias de su época y de todos los lazos que podían unir a la Iglesia con los poderosos, reivindicó el derecho de los pobres, nosotros hoy también decimos: Queremos que la sociedad del mañana no sea una sociedad de esclavos. Bajo ningún esquema. Bajo ninguna modalidad; ningún sistema; ninguna ideología."

social order, Pope Leo XIII drew attention to the necessity of the practice of charity by the creation of *patronatos*,² mutual benefit associations and workers' associations. *Rerum Novarum*'s contribution was to emphasize that the concern for poor people should not only be on a spiritual level. In other words, the encyclical was the recognition of the "Social Question:" all those problems produced by economic modernization created by industrialization and which subsequently resulted in an impoverished situation of the working class.³ In addition, Catholic social teaching gave institutional support to Social Catholicism, which referred to the activities that both laymen and clergy made in order to remedy the suffering of the poor because of the Social Question.⁴

In Chile, the ecclesiastical hierarchy warmly received *Rerum Novarum*. The Archbishop of Santiago, Mariano Casanova, ordered the publication of fifty thousand copies of the Encyclical; some of which were part of a special edition for the working class.⁵ Nevertheless, it was not enough to arouse the interest of the State and of the Chilean elite to join in an effort to improve the living and working conditions of the poor.

The birth of Catholic social teaching, thanks to *Rerum Novarum*, framed the

² Social organizations associated to a parish with the aim to offer a space for education and recreation for working class.

³ A good definition of "Social Question:" "All the social, labor, and ideological consequences of emerging industrialization and urbanization: a new labor force dependent upon the wage system; the appearance of worker housing, health, and sanitation problems of growing acuteness; the formation of organizations to defend the interest of the new "working class;" strikes and street demonstrations; perhaps armed clashes between workers and police or the military; and some popularity of radical ideas and radical leadership among the workers." James O. Morris, *Elites, Intellectuals, and Consensus. A Study of the Social Question and the Industrial Relations System in Chile* (Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1966), 78.

⁴ Fernando Berríos, "El catolicismo social; inculturación del Evangelio en Chile," in Fernando Berríos, Jorge Costadoat and Diego García, eds., *Catolicismo Social Chileno. Desarrollo, Crisis y Actualidad* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2009), 101.

⁵ Marciano Barrios V., *La Iglesia en Chile. Sinopsis Histórica* (Santiago: Ediciones Pedagógicas Chilenas S. A., 1987), 96.

process of the Catholic Church's renovation. Leo XIII was looking for reconciliation between the modern world and religion in order to stop the laicization of society⁶ and class war. The Pope did not reject the idea of the central role of religion in society. In the specific case of the Social Question, his proposal of solution was given by the promotion of charity, "the mistress and the queen of virtues."⁷ This suggestion was framed by a very traditional interpretation of society that did not consider social inequalities as injustice. They were just the way God had organized the world.⁸ For that reason, also, the encyclicals and pastorals regarding the Social Question seemed to be more focused on the danger of socialism rather than in a solution. Socialism represented the possibility of disorganization of society.

The goal of this report is to analyze what was going on about Catholic social teaching in Chile between 1891 and 1935, having as milestones the two main Encyclical about the Social Question, *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). This study will explore and analyze the lives and thoughts of four Chilean priests who were deeply concerned with the Social Question: Mariano Casanova (1833-1908), Archbishop of Santiago between 1886 and 1908; Juan Ignacio González (1844-1918), Archbishop of Santiago between 1908 and 1918; Martín Rucker (1867-1935), Bishop of Chillán between 1923 and 1935; and the Jesuit Fernando Vives (1871-1935), who, although he was never appointed to a higher level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, had a polemical role

⁶ Roger Aubert, *The Church in a Secularised Society* (New York; Paulist Press, 1978), 5: 144.

⁷ *Rerum Novarum*, Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, in http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_sp.html (Accessed November 11, 2009).

⁸ Patricio Valdivieso, *Dignidad Humana y Justicia: la historia de Chile, la política social y el cristianismo 1880-1920* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2006), 232.

in public opinion about the Social question that cost him two long exiles. He also was the mentor of some of the priests who became part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the middle of the twentieth century.⁹

The argument of this report is that between 1891 and 1935 the Chilean Catholic thought about the Social Question had changes and continuities. Among the first, there are the change of the focus of catholic action from charity to justice,¹⁰ or about the role of the State. The permanencies had to do with the traditional concept that the Catholic Church held, despite its efforts for having a more active role in the modern world. The main examples are the paternalistic attitude towards the workers and the consequent rejection of social mobility. The condition of the poor could be improved, but they always, and their children, would belong to the working class. It was a hierarchical vision of a class society. This contradiction, finally, explains why one of the main purposes of the Catholic social teaching did not succeed: stopping the spread of socialism. Even more, although it had an active goal about the Social Question, the Catholic Church could not stop secularization either.

This paper builds upon the existent historiography about the four priest and their

⁹ Manuel Larraín (1900-1966), Archbishop of Talca, and Saint Alberto Hurtado (1901-1952), among the most important. It is need to note that I do not study here the huge social labor of laymen and laywomen. Their work is a relevant part of Social Catholicism, but the aim of this report, as was detailed above, is to focus on the Catholic thought that supported Social Catholicism. For these activities, see, for example, Gertrude M. Yeager, "Female Apostolates and Modernization in Mid-nineteenth century Chile," *The Americas* 55, num 3 (1999); 425-258.

¹⁰ Charity, as the Catholic Church contends, is understood as the social action between two different persons, a superior one who helps an inferior one; in a social context, thus, of inequality. As a theological view, charity is also defined as a virtue that consists in "love the Lord and your neighbor as yourself". This last definition is important because, as this work will show, it was held by the people studied here to justify its presence along with social justice. On the other hand, social justice is defined as when both persons are recognized to have equal rights and dignity.

already published texts, such as pastorals, articles in newspapers, and lectures. One of its contributions is that for first time these priests are gathered under the perspective of knowing the evolution of the corpus of thought of the Catholic Church during the time that the institutionalization of Social Catholicism happened (1891 to 1935). In that sense, it is need to explain here briefly the role of each of them. Mariano Casanova can seem to be the one who contributed less to the development of an organized corpus of thought within the Catholic Church about the Social Question, since social work was not one of his main works. However, his role is important in the extent that his pastorals had a foundational character that allowed that both the actions of laity and the ideas of the Catholic Church about the Social Question met. Second, José Ignacio González Eyzaguirre made of social labor one of his main works as Archbishop. This commitment is highly represented by the foundations of several organizations on favor of the working class he did. Third, Martín Rucker worked as much as González, but thanks to his post in Antofagasta and Chillán, he worked much more on the ground and also developed a labor of spreading the Catholic social teaching in society through articles in newspapers and by giving lectures. Fernando Vives, finally, more than to work on the ground with the poor, dedicated his life to write about the Social Question and to form a big generation of priests, who had leading roles in the Chilean Catholic Church by the middle of the twentieth century. Historians have studied them separately, but this has not allowed catching their contribution to the formation of a common corpus of thought that supported the actions of laymen and priests known as Social Catholicism.

The nature of the Social Question also explains these continuities and changes. As

historians have pointed out,¹¹ the Social Question, as a phenomenon, can be identified as far back as the early nineteenth century in Chile. However, since 1870 two factors met: the “traditional” ones from colonial times (an agrarian structure, for example) and the “modern” ones (industrialization and urbanization), and the elite began to call explicitly the problems of the working class as “Social Question.”¹² Also, the political context played an important role as well. Politics and society had not had the same evolution as the economy. While during the nineteenth century there was a theoretical democracy that recognized in the political Constitution the citizenship of all the habitants of the nation, in practice, however, not everybody was a full citizen. There were restrictions to voting according to literacy, property, income, and, of course, gender. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, economic changes made space for new actors –middle sectors and workers- that started to press for more political opening. All these factors were the perfect ingredients for the formation of a “modern social question” at end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.¹³

However, historians have not studied Catholic social teaching as the expression of the Catholic Church of a dialogue of religion with modernity. Or, in other words, how the ideas of the Catholic Church fit into a society that was pushing for democracy not only in the political realm, but also in the social one. Most Chilean historiography has chosen a

¹¹ See, for example, Sergio Grez-Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile: Ideas Y Debates Precursores, 1804-1902* (Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivo y Museos, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 1995), 9-55 and Luis Alberto Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres? Élite y Sectores Populares en Santiago de Chile, 1840-1895* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1997).

¹² See for example, the articles published in 1884 by Augusto Orrego Luco in the newspaper *La Patria* entitled “La Cuestión Social.” These articles are published in Grez Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” en Chile*, 315-331.

¹³ Grez-Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 11.

critical point of view about the Catholic Church that emphasizes the role of socialism.¹⁴ On the other hand, the few works from Catholic historians have focused on the benefits of Catholicism's work about the Social Question.¹⁵ These two different positions have made it difficult, for example, to get a clear understanding of the difference between charity and social justice. José Miguel Barros, for instance, commented on the social activity of Mariano Casanova, saying the "pioneers of the struggle for social justice found in the archbishop understanding and support,"¹⁶ even though Casanova's ideas, as this paper will show, highlighted charity rather than social justice.

This work seeks to contribute to the historiography on Social Catholicism in Chile by bringing in a new interpretation on Catholic thought. Instead of holding a Manichean vision of the Catholic Church, this work aims to come up with a new interpretation of Catholic social teaching by proposing that it represented the attempts of the Church to get inside the modern world, and dialogue with modernity. It does not mean, on the one hand, that I do not recognize the value of the censorious historiography of the Catholic Church that emphasizes the role of socialism. In that respect, these works are relevant to understanding the formation of workers' identity as a social class. On the other hand, I did not dismiss the Catholic historiography either. This was the response to the huge historical works from the left and its main contribution has been the detailed account of

¹⁴ Sofía Correa et al., *Historia Del Siglo XX Chileno: Balance Paradojal* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2001), 56. Gabriel Salazar and Julio Pinto, *Historia Contemporánea De Chile. Hombres y feminidad* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1999), and Grez-Toso, ed., *La "Cuestión Social" En Chile*.

¹⁵ Fernando Silva Vargas, "Notas sobre el pensamiento social católico a fines del siglo XIX," *Historia* 4 (1965): 237-262. Walter Hanish Espíndola, "La Encíclica *Rerum Novarum* y sus cuarenta años de influencia en Chile, 1892-1932," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 9 (1991): 67-103. Barros, *La Iglesia en Chile*.

¹⁶ Barros, *La Iglesia en Chile*, 97.

Catholic activities around the Social Question. This work aims to give a more objective interpretation.

In general, what is lacking in the historiography is the study of Catholic thought separated from the activities of both laymen and clergy in order to understand the ideas that supported those activities. Two works recently published are the exception to this. Patricio Valdivieso published in 2006 his doctoral dissertation with the title *Dignidad Humana y Justicia, La Historia de Chile, La Política Social y el Cristianismo, 1880-1920*. Although developed in a very scientific style and with also a sometimes-tough writing style, it is an excellent investigation about the influences of European Social Catholicism in Chile. Valdivieso studies the readings of Catholics on Social Catholicism and their travels to Europe that explain this influence. He also aims to explore how these ideas contributed to a formation of social policies in Chile. However, he lacks an analysis of the Catholic thought about the concept of society that the Catholic Church held and how this traditional thought “talked” to a modern society. The other work is the book *Catolicismo Social Chileno. Desarrollo, Crisis y Actualidad*, published by the Centro Teológico Manuel Larraín in 2009. Although this center has a clear Catholic perspective, it aims to “collaborate with the Catholic Church in the perceptiveness of the sign of the times and, in this way, to establish a dialogue between faith and culture.”¹⁷ The book represents a fresh interpretation in the Chilean historiography since through articles written by theologians and historians, it focuses in the relationship between religion and modernity.

¹⁷ <http://www.uc.cl/facteo/centromanuellarrain/> (Accessed on October 15, 2010)

This report begins with the political context of the period. It seeks to link political ideas with the social changes that resulted in the framing of the Social Question. It also contributes to a better understanding of the ideas about the structure of society, as interpreted by the Catholic Church. Next, there is a detailed description of the living conditions of the poor, followed by an analysis of the concept of society that the elite held which helps to understand the elite lack of concern about the poor. After that, there is a section about the response of the Catholic Church to the Social Question. The focus here is on the historiography concerning the Chilean Catholic Church that details what I have said above about the historiography on Catholic social teaching in Chile. I think it deserves detailed attention, since a central point in this paper is to demonstrate that a better assessment of Catholicism will allow a better understanding of the scope of Social Catholicism. Then, there is the main part of the work, where I examine the biographies and ideas of Casanova, González, Rücker and Vives. The biographical section is supported mainly by secondary sources. Its aim, by gathering what other historians have said about these priests, is to get a big picture of them in their relationship with the formation of Catholic thought about the Social Question, which is analyzed in a brief section after the biographies. Then, I focus on the main papers of the four priests such as pastorals, conferences and articles published in newspapers. The aim of this section is to highlight the changes and continuities of Catholic thought. Finally, the conclusion sheds some light on possible future paths for research.

Finally, a brief observation about some words used in this paper. In Spanish there are two key words concerning the issue of the Social Question: *obrero* and *patrón*.

However, I think that when translating them into English –worker and employer, respectively- they lose part of their meaning. Worker also can be understood as *trabajador*, and employer is also defined as *empleador*. Although the word *laborer* can also be used, I have chosen *worker* since it refers to the political meaning that it had during that time. On the other hand, employer also refers to *boss*. However, patron emphasizes a strong relationship with the *obrero*, in a context of a hierarchical society, rather than a modern one focused more on economics.¹⁸

Politics in Chile. Equality and citizenship in theory, not practice.

After independence, Latin American elites chose democracy as the way of government. As Paul Drake asserts in his study about democracy in Latin America between 1800 and 2000, in the nineteenth century, “Latin Americans supplanted external absolutism with republics in less than two decades. They crafted their new governments largely from United States, French, and Spanish blueprints.”¹⁹ But the change was not so immediate. In the new Latin American nations, the formation of democracy was very different in theory and practice. In an ideal democracy, “a political system had to select its key leaders thorough regular elections that were reasonably participatory, free and fair, by the standards of the era.”²⁰ In these terms, Latin American democracies cannot be considered as such in the nineteenth century since not everyone had the right to vote (women, poor people and illiterates, for example) and there were tax or property

¹⁸ For the case of the high class, it could be used indistinctly *elite*, *high class* and *upper class*. *Rich* will be used mainly when talking about its relationship with the poor in order to emphasize their conflicting meaning in the period here studied.

¹⁹ Paul W. Drake, *Between Tyranny and Anarchy: a History of Democracy in Latin America, 1800-2006* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

qualifications for voting.²¹ Thus, not everyone could be a citizen. In this sense, Latin American democracies in the nineteenth century can be called “political democracies,” but not “social democracies.”

If not everyone had access to citizenship, it follows that there was a dichotomy between “exclusion/inclusion.” An “excluding” democracy was a country where, despite the presence of a democratic political Constitution, not everyone could participate in politics. The reason was that most of the Latin American countries chose to follow a gradual process of making a real democracy.²² Political leaders chose this path because of the fear that the social order could have been broken down by people who had not been trained in the practices of citizenship. The best example of this fear in Chile was a letter written by the leader of the organization of the Chilean state, Diego Portales as early as 1822:

Democracy, which is so loudly hawked by fools, is an absurdity in our Spanish American countries. They are too well endowed with vices, and its citizens are so lacking in virtue as to make the establishment of a republic nearly impossible. Monarchy is not the Spanish American ideal, either. What would be gained by establishing another monarchy after our last terrible experience? The Republic is the system that we need to adopt. But, do you know how I see it for our countries?: a strong, centralized government whose members are true models of patriotism and virtue. Once they are moralized, let us have a completely liberal, free, and idealistic government in which all citizens can participate.²³

Portales’ ideas were influential in Chile through most of the nineteenth century, a time known as the “Portalian Period.”

²¹ To a good study of elections in Chile, see J. Samuel Valenzuela, *Democratización Vía Reforma: la Expansión del Sufragio en Chile* (Buenos Aires: IDES, 1985).

²² Ana María Stiven, *La Seducción de un Orden: las Elites y la Construcción de Chile en las Polémicas Culturales y Políticas del siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 2000).

²³ Simon Collier, *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 96.

Some contemporary people in the nineteenth century recognized the difference between a political democracy and a social one. Juan Enrique Concha, for example, in his thesis in Law *Cuestiones Obreras*, submitted in 1899 to the University of Chile, claimed that

Given the political organization, we have a very perfect democracy that organizes the government according to citizens are able of copying, at least, one or two lines of the political constitution... In this way, the political right is not, not even so, according to what we could call the right (power or social influence) that is exerts quotidianly in the relationships between rich and poor.²⁴

He drew attention to the perils that this inequality can have for the political system: “Within this organization it would not be surprising that some day a real conflict happened, which could be reduced to a simple formula as follows: the struggle of a powerful political democracy in order to obtain equalizing their status to their political rights.”²⁵

Changes in the economy did not contribute to resolve this imbalance between a political democracy and a social democracy. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Chilean government began a process of modernization that resulted in an increase of exports, the construction of public works, deficit in the production of agricultural produce, and the migration of a great deal of the population from the countryside to the

²⁴ Juan Enrique Concha, “Cuestiones Obreras,” in Grez-Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 457. “En virtud de la organización política, tenemos una democracia absolutísima que dispone del gobierno por el hecho de que los ciudadanos sepan copiar, en ultimo término, unas dos líneas de nuestra Carta Fundamental... De manera que el derecho político no está, ni con mucho, en proporción con lo que podríamos llamar el derecho (poder o influencia social) que se ejerce cotidianamente en las relaciones de los ricos para con los pobres.” Concha has been widely studied, see Ximena Cruzat and Ana Tironi, “El Pensamiento frente a la Cuestión Social en Chile,” in Mario Berríos, ed., *Pensamiento en Chile, 1830-1910* (Santiago: Nuestra América Ediciones, 1987), 127-151, and Patricio Valdivieso, *Dignidad Humana*.

²⁵ Concha, “Cuestiones Obreras,” 457.

cities, especially Santiago.²⁶ However, this modernization was marked by material and economic changes rather than social or political reform. In this way, according to Huerta, the “Social Question began to take form. Besides, new social sectors were shaped: the middle and working classes.”²⁷ In the decade of 1870, marginalization and poverty started to be more visible; in part, evidently, because the more rich the elite was, the clearer the differences between the social classes were.²⁸ As Romero affirms, “The development of capitalist relations gave form to that inorganic mass and transformed it in workers.”²⁹ Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, when industrialization caused social changes that challenged the limited enfranchisement and political participation, the Social Question resulted in a greater crisis that the government and the ruling class were not able to face at the beginning. Hence, the Social Question represents the contradiction between political theory and reality in this period. For the elite, the Social Question represented the terrible possibility of the end of the traditional order. For the poor, it was the symbol of injustice. Additionally, socialist and communist groups began to spread their ideas into popular sectors representing the fear for high class, and the possibility of solution for the working class.

Given this encounter between the improvement of the richness in the high class, on the one hand, and the impoverishment of the poor, on the other hand; it is not possible, therefore, to assert, as Stuvén does, that between 1870 and 1910 there was a “transition

²⁶ María Antonieta Huerta and Luis Pacheco Pastene, *La Iglesia Chilena y los Cambios Sociopolíticos* (Santiago: Pehuén Editores, 1988), 128-129.

²⁷ Ibid., 129.

²⁸ Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*, 165-185.

²⁹ Ibid., 10. “El desarrollo de las relaciones capitalistas fue dando forma a esa masa inorgánica y los transformó en trabajadores.”

from the oligarchic republic to the democratic republic, a nation of citizens.”³⁰ This assertion must be relativized. As will become clear through the explorations of the ideas of Casanova, González, Rücker and Vives, a democratic society did not mean, even as recently as 1935, for example, that everybody had the same rights. Democracy existed in theory, but in practice it was hardly complete. This period, I argue, may be better identified as the first time when the poor asked for rights and, consequently, to exercise their citizenship.³¹ It is more accurate to see this period as the beginning of the process of spreading and struggling for the rights of citizenship. Moreover, it is not possible to claim that citizenship was already present in the whole society when, only in 1935, women got the right to vote in municipal elections and in 1949 in the presidential ones. Furthermore, only in 1958, were the illiterate enfranchised.

This process demonstrates, in other words, the paradox of applying liberalism in a still traditional society. Frederick Pike argues that “Liberalism, its Chilean critics were wont to observe, made sense and produced whatever good it could only when introduced in a milieu characterized by open socio-economic structures.” Such structures meant that society was not defined by social origin of people, typical of an hierarchical organization. In this modern society, urbanization, industrial and commercial revolutions “were already under way;” and mass education had gotten already success. However, Pike argues, if liberalism was introduced in a stratified society, a pre-industrial milieu and an illiterate mass, “served only to foment a degree of social and economic exploitation previously

³⁰ Ana María Stiven, “‘Cuestión Social’ y catolicismo social: de la nación oligárquica a la nación democrática” in Berríos, ed., *Catolicismo Social*, 48.

³¹ In a interpretation from the “subaltern studies” school, it can be said that this time is when the poor used their agency.

unknown.”³² This exploitation was exactly what happened in Chile.

Living conditions of the Chilean working class at the end of 19th century.

The social problems caused by this paradox reached such a magnitude that it was evident that new theories were needed to avoid social and political destabilization. For the first time, social problems became the concern of the whole society, although not of the state.³³ Even more, Social Question also came to shape a perception “of national decline”³⁴ in the elite and intellectual sectors.³⁵

In Chile, the social problems that formed the Social Question were consequences of the migration from the countryside to the city. Looking for better jobs and better wages, peasants moved to the cities (Santiago, Valparaíso or Concepción, mainly) or to the nitrate mines in northern Chile. Records show the fast growth of Santiago in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1810, there were 60,000 people in Santiago. By 1843, the city had 20,000 new inhabitants and by 1875, according to the census, there were 129,807. Only 20 years, that number had doubled to: 256,403. In 1920, the census counted 507,000 inhabitants.³⁶ For sure, these numbers reflect new people from the countryside (and provinces in general) and the birth rate, but it is undeniable the

³² Frederick B. Pike, “South America’s Multifaceted Catholicism: glimpses of Twentieth century Argentina, Chile and Peru,” in Henry A. Landsberger, ed., *The Church and Social Change in Latin America* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970), 61.

³³ Valdivieso, *Dignidad Humana*, 237.

³⁴ Simon Collier and William Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-1994* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 183.

³⁵ There is a great deal of literature that shows this feeling of “moral crisis” and emphasizes the “miserable social conditions” of urban workers and miners. The most famous is a speech given in 1900 by the President of the Radical Party, Enrique MacIver, which begins with the words “It seems to me that we are not happy.” Collier & Sater, *A History of Chile*, 184. For the sentiment of crisis, see also Cristián Gazmuri R., *Testimonios de una Crisis: Chile, 1900-1925* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1979).

³⁶ Armando De Ramón, *Santiago de Chile (1541-1991) Historia de una Sociedad Urbana* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 221.

contribution of rural immigration.³⁷ And Santiago needed workers. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, many jobs were available in the field of public works: the construction of railroads and irrigation ditches, copper mines in the Andes mountains east of Santiago, and agriculture around Santiago to produce food for the growing population of the city.³⁸ Additionally, by 1906, Santiago had 1,100 industries, which represented 40% of the national total.³⁹

In the city, unlike what workers expected, living conditions were poor. The city was not prepared to receive them, and life in the northern mines –the driest desert in the world- was far from the minimal dignity, where houses were built of wrecks from the mines and rocks from the desert. In the cities, *conventillos* were the common housing. These houses consisted of a large common hall or corridor and many small dark rooms. The hall was used for kitchen and laundry, and, since there was no sewer system, it was also where wastewater was dumped. There were no bathrooms, and rent was usurious. It was common for a family of five or more people to live in each room.⁴⁰ By 1911, 40% of the population of Santiago lived in *conventillos*.⁴¹

These poor and unsanitary living conditions produced material and moral

³⁷ De Ramón says that immigration was from all social levels. From the working class that looked for better living conditions; middle sectors that came to work in the emergent state bureaucracy and; high class for whom the comforts of the city were very appealing (and possible in this case, by the way). It seems obvious, however, that numerically, the main contribution came from the lower levels of society. De Ramón, *Santiago de Chile*, 222-223.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 224.

³⁹ Richard J. Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Santiago, Chile, 1891-1941* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 10. At the end of the nineteenth century, urban growth makes that authorities decided the creation of a new political jurisdictions, the *comunas*, which were assimilated to the American counties. In this way, the habitable area got a huge extension. Walter, *Politics*, 8.

⁴⁰ Gonzalo Vial, *Historia de Chile (1891-1973)*, vol. II, part I, “La sociedad chilena en el cambio de siglo (1891-1920)” (Santiago: Editorial Santillana, 1981), 500.

⁴¹ Walter, *Politics*, 14.

problems, among these, illnesses, epidemics, delinquency, alcoholism, and promiscuity.⁴² Cholera, smallpox, yellow fever and typhoid fever were regular guests in the lives of the people during this time. In children, the most common illnesses were whooping cough, measles, diphtheria and influenza. In adults, tuberculosis was common. Finally, incidence of syphilis increased a great deal because of promiscuity.⁴³ Besides, the increasing cost of foods made it impossible to carry on a healthy life.⁴⁴ Therefore, malnutrition aggravated the situation. Also, family constitution was broken. Over 115,524 live births, 41,928 were illegitimate in 1903.⁴⁵ And infant mortality was very high. Children that managed to survive the first year did not have good expectations: not attending school, working at early age, facing abuse from an alcoholic father (when they had one) or simply vagrancy in the streets.⁴⁶

The city was not prepared for the arrival of the new workers and they could not do anything to change this, either. Working conditions were also deplorable. Wages were far from enough for providing food at home. The working day was sometimes more than 12 hours and there was not Sunday rest (still less vacations). Insurance was completely non-existence. It was very common to be a widow with many children because the husband died working. With no state intervention in the labor field in order to protect workers, they felt totally abandoned.

In this context, the pressure from the working class to improve its condition

⁴² Vial, *Historia de Chile*, 499-500

⁴³ Walter, *Politics*, 19.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 21, who took the information from Markos J. Mamalakis, *Historical Statistics of Chile: Demography and Labor Force*, Vol. 2 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

became more prevalent. This pressure was also due to the influence of leaderships from socialist and anarchistic groups.⁴⁷ As historian Harold Blackmore states, “The first two decades of the twentieth century saw a worsening of social conflict, deriving from particular causes but occasioned by a general situation.”⁴⁸ There were several riots in this period that were put down violently by the government. For example, in 1903 the strike of the port workers of Valparaíso, the main port of Chile, was finished with 32 killed and 84 wounded; another strike in Antofagasta in 1906 left hundreds of workers dead.⁴⁹ The most tragic popular riot was called the “Matanza de Santa María de Iquique” in December 21st, 1907. Five days before, December 16th, thousands of striking workers came with their families from the mines from the interior, in the Pampa, to Iquique on the coast. They took refuge in the *Escuela Santa María* while they negotiated with the local authorities to get their demands. However, negotiations failed and the workers were told to leave the school; otherwise, the military would shoot. Since they decided to stay, the military carried out their threat. Although the exact number killed is unknown, scholars conclude that there were more than three hundred dead. The Matanza had a big impact on public opinion in that period, given not only the great amount of dead, but also the irrational answer from the authorities that shot men, women and children who stayed peacefully in the school.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ For a good analysis of the socialists influence, see Grez Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 11-44.

⁴⁸ Harold Blackmore, "From the War of the Pacific to 1930," in *Chile Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 62.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 63.

⁵⁰ There is a great deal of literature about this particular event in the Chilean historiography. See Eduardo Devés, *Los que van a morir te saludan. Historia de una masacre. Escuela de Santa María. Iquique, 1907*

Responses to the Social Question. The fear of the elite of starting to share “their” spaces.

As it has been in the military response in Iquique, the problem that the elite faced, in their own view was less a real concern about the Social Question, than “What to do with the poor?”⁵¹ In his very-executed book, Romero states “the poor were for the elite in an alien and threatening actor.”⁵² And by using the word alien, it was obvious that the elite thought the poor were not part of the society. The elite identified the sectors where the poor lived as everything what was the opposite of their clean and correct way of life. “When the elite looked at the living conditions of the poor, they put together sanitary and moral problems; everything was there a horrible mess of misery and corruption.”⁵³ This conceptualization of the “other” lasted at least until the 1930s, although it became less prevalent. Also, as Romero correctly contends, the elite were afraid of the poor because they “have broken their bond to the society.”⁵⁴

The Chilean elite defined society according to education and literacy. Three social classes could be identified according to economic characteristics: the upper class; the emergent middle class, a product of public education; and the always-present but now transformed lower class. However, these groups were organized into two sectors: the elite and the poor people. The differentiating element between these two sectors was the

(Santiago: Ediciones Documentas, 1988) and Sergio González Miranda, *Ofrenda a una masacre: claves e indicios históricos de la emancipación pampina de 1907* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2007).

⁵¹ Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*

⁵² Ibid., 9.

⁵³ Ibid., 11. “Cuando la elite miró cómo vivían los pobres, sumaron los problemas sanitarios con los morales: todo era allí un horrendo revoltijo de miseria y corrupción.”

⁵⁴ Ibid., 155.

education of the people, which meant, the capacity of taking part in the public space. Members of the middle class were considered elite because they were educated and learned and who could take part in the public opinion. Therefore, it was a very enlightened meaning of society, but at the same time a very traditional one because in these two big groups did not exist any possibility of upward mobility. The poor were not allowed to become part of the elite. As Walter correctly argues, “whatever the gulf between the upper and middle classes, it paled in comparison to the distance between the elite and Santiago’s working classes.”⁵⁵

The separation by literacy was clear also in the physical space. Parks and plazas, the modern “public spaces,” were exclusively used and reserved for the elite. Of course, most of the neighborhoods of the working class were not close to where the elite lived. Like many Latin American cities today, the cities were highly segregated. Santiago was organized around the main square, the “Plaza de Armas.” The elite lived in this downtown area, while the lower classes lived in the west and to the north of Mapocho River. Peter DeSahzo notes that in Santiago there was not “a single working class neighborhood, but rather a series of them. Some extensive, other small and isolated.”⁵⁶ On the other hand, the economic growth from 1850 produced in the elite the yearning for luxury items and for building large, opulent houses in the European style of the

⁵⁵ Walter, *Politics*, 13.

⁵⁶ Peter DeSchazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 56. Walter notes that notwithstanding the segregation in some parts of the cities, mainly in the downtown, it was possible some diversity of social classes in a small zone, but I suggest that this situation were mostly about the people that worked in the high class sector. Walter, *Politics*, 10.

moment.⁵⁷

This crisis was not only a material crisis –the commonly called Social Question by the elite-, it was also a crisis of the organization of society. Who was part of the society now? In this modern time, workers were unable to act as citizens, although workers were relevant actors of the industrialization and modernization of the country. The poor conditions of the working class first caught the attention of several persons and institutions, but not of the State. In general, despite the seriousness of the situation, political authorities delayed the decision to be in charge of the Social Question. According to Huerta, “The state, within the classical concept of subsidiarity, had not been interested in the social problem, had not assumed its existence, and, therefore, this issue was not part of their concerns, nor of the concerns of traditional political parties.”⁵⁸ In the 1870’s, the political authorities tried to make some decisions about the hygienic conditions of the city. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, Intendant of Santiago in 1872, is best remembered for the embellishment of the city. Vicuña ordered the city free of vagrants and prostitutes. He also ordered the demolition of huts and *conventillos*, but there was no concern about the future of the displaced people.⁵⁹ Romero correctly contends that Vicuña’s policies “although faced natural resistance, were accepted while there was a very intense awareness of the danger.”⁶⁰ More than a concern for the poor, these decisions show the fear that the elite had of the poor. Vicuña Mackenna’s decisions

⁵⁷ De Ramón, *Santiago de Chile*, 226.

⁵⁸ Huerta, *La Iglesia Chilena*, 131. See also Cruzat and Tironi, who assert that the State had an “observing position or as an arbitrator between capital and labor.” Cruzat and Tironi, “El Pensamiento,” 128.

⁵⁹ Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*, 152.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

meant the expulsion of the poor from the city, their “own city (ciudad propia).”

In addition, it was believed that the poor living conditions of the lower classes and their base morality were related. For this reason, the state focused more on the improvement of hygienic conditions rather than on enacting codes or a corpus of legislation. The state was not yet, of course, a social welfare state. For example, in 1892 the *Consejo de Higiene*, which was in charge of wastewater problems, also conducted campaigns to promote vaccination, although this was not compulsory. In the case of alcoholism and prostitution, the “social illnesses,” the goal of the state was to protect society (understood as the elite) instead of eradicating these problems. For example, measures were taken to demolish the *conventillos*, but not to build houses for the working class.

On a more general level, there were other legal initiatives that “slept” in the Congress from the 1880’s. Only in 1906 did the Congress enact Law 1.838, which made provisions to organize housing for the working class. However, the results were inadequate the huge problem. As Vial notes, in 1922 “in *conventillos* in Santiago lived until 10 persons per room still.”⁶¹

The answer from Catholicism: paternalism or part of secularization?

Although the main concern of the Chilean Catholic Church during the nineteenth century was its relationship with the State, fighting against masonry and liberalism,⁶² both laymen and clergy worried about poverty some time before *Rerum Novarum*.

⁶¹ Vial, *Historia de Chile*, 504.

⁶² Ricardo Krebs, ed., *Catolicismo y Laicismo: las Bases Doctrinarias del Conflicto Entre la Iglesia y el Estado en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones Nueva Universidad, 1981).

Beneficence was a common practice among the elite, as part of the Catholic discourse about charity. Charity was privileged over a justice because, while the first represented just a relief, the second one represented a definitive solution to social problems since it offered to finish with what caused the Social Question. To take the side of social justice would have meant to the elite go into the causes of poverty, an idea, as was noted above, the elite was not interested in. Sol Serrano claims that Social Catholicism was not “a direct response to the conflicts caused by industrial society or created by the Encyclical of Leo XIII... (Social Catholicism) arises due to the transition from solidarity of association’s bond in order to the get eternal life after death to the insertion in present life.”⁶³ I argue that from 1891 on, Social Catholicism found institutional support from the Catholic Church through the Catholic social teaching established by Leo XIII with the *Rerum Novarum*.

However, the historiography about Social Catholicism has taken diverse positions. Some scholars, from a critical point of view, highlight that the first preoccupation of the Church was for the spiritual wellbeing of the working class and not for their material conditions. Sofía Correa states that “The Catholic Church and conservative groups attributed the origin (of the Social Question) to the alleged loss of morality in the lower class, which was the consequence... of the spread of secular ideologies, opposed to Christianity, and tributaries of European socialism and

⁶³ Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?: Política y Secularización en Chile: (1845-1885)* (Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), 344. “No era una respuesta directa a los conflictos de la sociedad industrial ni nace en rigor con la encíclica de León XIII. A nuestro juicio, éste surge en el paso de la solidaridad de los vínculos societarios de la conquista de la vida eternal a la inserción en la vida presente.”

anarchism.”⁶⁴ The solution, Correa continues, was only charity. Gabriel Salazar, one of the most leftist Chilean historians, argues that *Rerum Novarum* created a dilemma for the Chilean Catholic Church because Catholic social teaching forced the Church “to go against itself, to reverse its commitment to help the elite, and to help effectively and politically to those who, until then, it had only seen like ‘solemn poor’ (widows, disabled, orphans, homeless) who asked for charity and alms.”⁶⁵ He highlights how the Catholic Church faced the political dilemma of helping the lower classes, and the need for a “real social policy” in place of “continuing with charity.”⁶⁶ He concludes that “Clearly, the Chilean Catholic Church in the early twentieth century, avoided -regarding the 'social-question- the edicts of the Pope, in order to remain loyal, as before, to their class and their practices of mere charity.’”⁶⁷

New historiographical interpretations have identified Social Catholicism as part of the process of secularization, although it could be seen a response to it. Sol Serrano, continuing with her argument about the emergence of Social Catholicism not because of Social Question, affirms that “it was part of the realignment of Catholicism in the construction of the liberal national state and was also a response to Socialism.”⁶⁸ This change is clear also in the transition from charity to justice, “from the paternalistic

⁶⁴ Correa et al., *Historia Del Siglo XX Chileno*, 56.

⁶⁵ Salazar, *Historia Contemporánea*, 74.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 75-76.

⁶⁸ Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?*, 343-344. From a theological approach, Berríos asserts that Social Catholicism is not only “a bet by direct action of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but also a bet by the intervention of the laical action in society.” In the case of the *Rerum Novarum*, Berríos argues, it was clear since the analysis of the work is now not only since a “spiritual-individual approach but also, from a ‘politic’ and social approach.” Berríos, “El Catolicismo social,” 550 and 553.

beneficence to the acknowledgement of workers' right."⁶⁹ Then, Social Catholicism, Berríos affirms, became a "Catholic appropriation of a modern and secular cultural concept in order to express a traditional content in a radical new way."⁷⁰ He also argues that this change in the Catholic Church implied the reconciliation of the faith, a "pre-modern Catholic mentality," with a more plural and autonomous society.⁷¹ "The Catholic Church tried, Berríos continues, to introduce itself to the modern society as a model of a true co-existence based on the value of the vertical authority, and the tradition and order that the Catholic Church represented."⁷² In this way, Berríos states, we can understand the "double interest" of the Catholic Church about the Social Question: a sheer charitable inspiration to the ones suffering, and a very strong concern about the spreading of socialist ideas within the working class.⁷³

With a more organized position toward the Social Question thanks to the Catholic social teaching established by *Rerum Novarum*, the Church began to work in the direction of solving the situation of the poorest in society. In 1887, the *Sociedad de Obreros de San José* was founded as "a tool for moral and religious education,"⁷⁴ although its focus was not fighting against social injustice. Gonzalo Vial details three initiatives. Inspired by *Rerum Novarum*, Melchor Concha y Toro, a philanthropist from the Conservative Party, founded in 1891 the *Fundación León XIII* for building houses for workers. After ten

⁶⁹ Berríos, "El Catolicismo social," 107. For Romero, this change represents a more social approach of the charitable and moralizing previous attitude of the elite. Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*, 179.

⁷⁰ Berríos, "El Catolicismo social," 107.

⁷¹ Ibid., 102.

⁷² Ibid., 103.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina en el Siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 2002), 295.

years of paying rent, they became owners of the houses. The *Institución Sofía Concha* in Santiago aimed to build small apartments. Juana Ross de Edwards founded the *Union Social De Orden y Trabajo* in Valparaíso with the same goal. However, none of these three had success. The *Institución Sofía Concha* built 133 apartments by 1910... while in Santiago there were 25.000 rooms in conventillos.⁷⁵ From this moment on, the Catholic thought about the Social Question will evolve from a charitable perspective that proponed the resignation of the poor to a more active role focused on resolving the injustices of society that made the poor suffer. Mariano Casanova, Juan Ignacio González, Martín Rücker and Fernando Vives are the best example of this evolution.

Casanova, González, Rücker and Vives: their lives and work.

Mariano Casanova

Mariano Casanova was born in July 25, 1833, in Santiago. Thanks to an educational scholarship, he attended secondary school at the *Instituto Nacional*, the best public high school in Chile at that time.⁷⁶ In 1847, when he was only 14 years old, he began his studies in the *Seminario Conciliar* to become a priest where due to his good grades, he was appointed as teacher in 1851. He taught courses on Humanities, Philosophy, Theology and Canonical Law and also taught at the *Instituto Nacional* Philosophy and Faith's Fundamentals until 1868. In 1860, Casanova founded the Saint Agustín Literary Academy at the Seminary, with the aim of preparing and training future ecclesiastical writers.

In September twentieth, 1856, Casanova was ordained a priest. In addition, he

⁷⁵ Vial, *Historia de Chile*, 502 and 503.

⁷⁶ The Instituto Nacional is until today the best public high school for men in Chile.

became a lawyer, receiving a law degree without an exam since the authorities decided that “Casanova did not need it to prove his juridical knowledge because he had demonstrated he was competent.”⁷⁷ Given his well-known skills, in 1859 he was appointed member of the Theology Faculty at the University of Chile. In 1865, he went to Europe with three of his students. Pope Pius IX, who had a very good impression of Casanova and his capabilities, received them.

Casanova had good relations with the government and the elite (of which he also was part). He was classmate or teacher of most of the people who worked in the government and were outstanding public men.⁷⁸ Moreover, Errázuriz argues that the closest friends of Casanova were not people from the clergy, but from the political elite: “This inclination to be friend of the powerful politicians was a defect of Casanova, but it was beneficial for the Church in many occasions.”⁷⁹

His auspicious career in Santiago was interrupted in 1868, although the interruption actually resulted in a promotion in his ecclesiastical career.⁸⁰ Casanova was appointed as priest and external Vicar of Valparaíso, the main port of Chile, 80 miles away from Santiago. Four years later, in 1872, Valparaíso was declared a Vicariate and Casanova was appointed as its Vicar. Among his pastoral labor, the foundation of the *Seminario San Rafael* stands out as his main legacy. To accomplish this, Casanova

⁷⁷ Julio Retamal Ávila, *Monseñor Mariano Casanova Casanova, 1886-1908: Tercer Arzobispo de Santiago* (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1981), 12.

⁷⁸ In fact, in 1868, the government appointed him as part of the committee that went to Lima, Peru, to bring home the mortal remains of Bernardo O’Higgins (1781-1842), a Chilean General who fought in the War of Independence. He is called “The Father of the Chilean Fatherland” (“Padre de la Patria”).

⁷⁹ Fidel Araneda Bravo, *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones Paulinas, 1986), 601.

⁸⁰ Araneda affirms that the creation of the ecclesiastical government of Valparaíso (city that by 1870’s decade was not yet a Bishopric) was thanks to the influences of Casanova in the Chilean government. Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 595.

collected the money by asking for alms from the richest neighbors of Valparaíso. He also was concerned about the spread of Protestantism⁸¹ and Masonry in the population. Also, Casanova founded a nursing home for poor girls and supported the foundation of the *Sociedad Católica de Instrucción Primaria*. Female religious orders were in charge of both organizations.⁸²

Casanova reached the peak of his career in 1886 when he was appointed Archbishop of Santiago. He was elected after a strong struggle between the Chilean Catholic Church and the government. The fight ended when both actors met in the Vatican and Pope Leo XIII settled the issue by proposing the appointment of Mariano Casanova, who was accepted by the Chilean Government.⁸³

During Casanova's administration, in 1888, the Catholic University was founded. However, the project to give the Catholic Church a university did not have the approval and support of Casanova at the beginning. The desire of some laymen from the Conservative party to found the university has to be understood in the context of Chile's secularization in the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ However, Casanova was not assured of getting the necessary money for this enterprise and was afraid of the shameful situation that the Catholic Church might face if the idea failed. Finally, Casanova was convinced when the group that promoted the project got the support of some priests in the ecclesiastical

⁸¹ The spreading of Protestantism was a particular problem for the Catholic Church in Valparaíso given the great influence in Valparaíso's society of English immigrants in the city.

⁸² Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 596.

⁸³ His election was marked by the conflict about the prerogatives of the State over the Church. Taking a Spanish legacy, the government appointed the Archbishop position to the priest, Francisco de Paula Taforó. However, the ecclesiastical hierarchy nominated the post to Monsignor Joaquín Larraín Gandarillas.

⁸⁴ For a good analysis of secularization in Chile in nineteenth century, see Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?*

hierarchy. In the political field, Casanova also had an important role in the conflict between Congress and the President of the Republic that culminated in the civil war in 1891. He tried, without success, to avoid the confrontation, and when the war was over, he called for unity in the country in his *Pastoral sobre la necesidad de orar en favor de la paz en el presente conflicto político*.

In 1899, Casanova received an important mission from the Vatican: to take the chair of the Plenary Council of the Spanish American Episcopate in Rome. Casanova declined to be the President of all the sessions and only presided the first one. His several and recognized speeches in the Council made Casanova a strong candidate for being appointed as a Cardinal. However, as will be noted, this possibility came to nothing.

His work as Archbishop was marked also by social work. Casanova was one of the main promoters in Chile of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Having received the document from Rome, Casanova published a pastoral about it: *Pastoral que don Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile, dirige al clero y fieles al publicar la Encíclica de nuestro Santísimo Padre León XII sobre la condición de los obreros*. Beginning in 1891, the social question became more and more important to Casanova's work. He wrote two more pastorals about social issues: *Pastoral sobre la propaganda de doctrinas irreligiosas y antisociales* in 1893 and *Pastoral acerca de la necesidad de mejorar la condición social del pueblo* in 1905.⁸⁵

Historians and his contemporaries give diverse interpretations of Casanova's

⁸⁵ Araneda states that while the first pastorals were effectively written by Casanova, his last texts, given his medical problems, were written by his assistants. However, Araneda does not say who exactly wrote these texts. In this paper, I will consider the three pastorals as authored by Casanova. Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 600.

personality. Although they recognize his important role in trying to return to the stability and peace after the civil war in 1891, and for his work in the social field advocating for the working class, the understanding of his personality was affected by the brain hemorrhage he suffered in 1877.⁸⁶ The Vatican had considered Casanova a perfect candidate for being appointed Cardinal. However, his personality or the consequences of the brain stroke he suffered, frustrated this possibility. Historian Jaime Eyzaguirre mentions the opinion of Pope Leo XIII when the Chilean government suggested the idea: “His Holiness believed that the intellectual power of the Archbishop had decayed visibly... ‘I can affirm to you, the Pope said, that the Archbishop is not the same person I met in the Council ten years ago.’”⁸⁷ Furthermore, his manners, strange to the Chilean clergy, as Vial notes, did not seem to have contributed to a good impression of his personality: Casanova “was a Bishop according the Italian way; affable, maybe a little bit pompous, shrewd maneuvering, erudite, a good discourser, fond of comfortable life, although without exaggeration.”⁸⁸ Araneda, on the contrary, has a more balanced opinion: “When a man, especially if he is a priest, can have many good and extraordinary qualities, and he receives honors and high appointments because of these qualities, his

⁸⁶ According to some historians, this situation affected his attitudes and his way of relating with people. Crescente Errázuriz, Archbishop of Santiago between 1918 and 1931, was a very well recognized historian. In his memoirs, he states that the brain stroke “increased some trends of Casanova’s character such as his lack of consistency, easiness for changing his opinion without any reason, little consistency keeping friendship to the point of it could be argued he did not have friends.” Errázuriz’s strong opinion is surprising, though it is possible his ideas are influenced by some misunderstanding with Casanova, or derived from the particular personality of Casanova. The opinion of Errázuriz is quoted by Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 592.

⁸⁷ Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Chile durante el gobierno de Errázuriz Echaurren* (Santiago: Editorial Zig-Zag, 1957), 277.

⁸⁸ Vial, *Historia de Chile*, 827.

work causes rivalry and enviousness.”⁸⁹ Regarding Casanova’s inclination to be related to the elite, Araneda argues that this eagerness to be friend of important people was normal among Chileans during this time.

Additionally, Casanova’s stroke might have affected his personality, but not his intelligence. His pastoral works so demonstrated it. He always recruited intelligent priests with strong personalities as his assistant priests, regardless of their view of him.⁹⁰ Apart from his brain problem, Casanova was a healthy person. Some years before his death, he suffered a serious nervous breakdown. However, it did not dwindle his energy. None of the historians discussed here say anything about the direct cause of his death.; they only refer that Casanova “was seriously sick in April, 1908,”⁹¹ and died the next month, on May 18.

Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre. “If the man is hungry, he does not work or pray with pleasure.”

On his deathbed, May 1908, Mariano Casanova was visited by the President of Chile, Pedro Montt. At that time, Casanova asked Montt to appoint Juan Ignacio González as his successor in the Archbishopric.⁹² Why the recommendation? It is said that Fray Andresito⁹³ had predicted that González Eyzaguirre family would have two children: one would be Archbishop and the other one, a prominent citizen. When Juan Ignacio and his brother Domingo were registered at the Santiago’s Seminary, Casanova

⁸⁹ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 593.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 603.

⁹¹ Retamal, *Monseñor Mariano Casanova*, 24 and Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 620.

⁹² Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 620.

⁹³ Fray Andresito (1800-1853) was (and it is until today) a popular Spanish-Chilean Franciscan who has been postulated by his religious order for canonization. His application is currently in process.

was a professor there. He would say: “I have a future Archbishop in my class!”⁹⁴ Juan Ignacio González would confirm this prophecy during his career, above all during the time both worked together in Valparaíso.

Eyzaguirre was born on June 13, 1844. He studied in the Santiago Seminary beginning in 1855, becoming a priest in September 1867. He was not a brilliant student, but his pensiveness set him apart from the rest of the students.⁹⁵ His first designation was in the *San Saturnino Parish* in the popular and poor Yungay neighborhood in 1868. Some historians claim that in this post González developed a predilection for working in favor of the poor. He had been there only one year when he was appointed assistant vicar of Mariano Casanova in Valparaíso. There, he supported Casanova in his idea to found the *Seminario San Rafael* and, for that, Casanova appointed González vice principal of the Seminar between 1871 and 1872. That year, González returned to Santiago and held the same appointment in the *Seminario de Santiago*. He taught Sacred History and Spanish.

As it was his inner wish, González returned to Valparaíso in 1879. He was in charge of the *Doce Apóstoles Parish*, one of the biggest in the diocese, with a population of 50,000. To face this huge work, González had three assistant vicars, but he also traveled throughout the diocese, riding a horse in order to preach in every neighborhood. In 1886, González had to face the cholera epidemic, in which he played a very active role by founding the *Lazareto de Barón*, which was a small hospital for people affected by

⁹⁴ Julio Retamal Ávila, *Monseñor Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre, 1908-1918: Cuarto Arzobispo de Santiago* (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1981), 8.

⁹⁵ The report about him in 1860 “His performance has been fairly good, his capacity is not outstanding; albeit his behavior is pure and his piety has been, above all in the last years, noteworthy.” The report is in the Archive of the Archbishopric of Santiago and is quoted by Virginia Rhode, *Mons. Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre, el Arzobispo de los Pobres*. Thesis submitted to the School of Education, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 1966, 11.

cholera.⁹⁶ His pastoral work in Valparaíso was directed toward the popular classes and the containment of socialism, communism and Masonry as well. He founded the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*, the *Círculo de Obreros*, and the *Escuela Nocturna*; and brought the Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas to Valparaíso, to be in charge of the *Escuela de San Vicente de Paul*. In some of his social labor, he used money from his heritage to fund some of his social reforms efforts. Some poor people went to the parish and González helped them financially. Also, the finishing of the construction of the *Doce Apóstoles Parish* was possible due to his economical support as well.⁹⁷ In his struggle against the spread of leftist ideologies, in 1895 González financially supported the creation of the Catholic newspaper *La Unión de Valparaíso*. He also contributed with articles to this newspaper.

However, due to his weak health, in 1889 González decided to quit the appointment in the Parish and focus in his educational labor in the *Seminario San Rafael*, where he was appointed as Principal of the Seminary in 1888. His assistant here would be Martín Rücker. However, González stayed there only until 1891 because he decided to become a Jesuit. He just had the opportunity to be novice. Domingo Cruz, who was González's teacher at the Seminary, convinced him to abandon the Society. At the same time, ecclesiastical authorities decided to appoint him as Ecclesiastical Governor and

⁹⁶ Historians relate an anecdote about this that reflects his charity. A very sick man went to the lazaretto. However, because he was vomiting constantly, nobody wanted to take him out of the ambulance to get him into the Lazaretto. González held the man in his arms and brought him into the hospital, no minding the vomiting. Retamal, *Monseñor Juan Ignacio González*, 12-13. Juan Ignacio González Errázuriz, *El Arzobispo del Centenario. Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre* (Santiago: Ediciones Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2003), 36-37.

⁹⁷ The both historians that refer this event –Retamal and González Errázuriz– does not say when exactly these events were.

External Vicar of Valparaíso. Finally, González returned to Santiago in 1891. That year, he was appointed Principal of the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*, and in 1894 he promoted the foundation of the *Centro Cristiano*, which offered free primary and secondary education for the working class. In 1896, González was appointed priest of *El Salvador Parish*, and four years later, 1900, Capitular Vicar of Santiago. However, he rejected the Vicariate because of medical reasons. In 1907, he was appointed as Archbishop of Flaviades (not in charge of diocese), which in practice meant that he was going to be one of the assistants of Archbishop Casanova.⁹⁸

His career reached its peak the next year, in 1908, when González was appointed Archbishop of Santiago, after Archbishop Casanova passed away. Historians agree that his social work in favor of the working class determined his pastoral labor while in office. Retamal states that during his administration “an actual consciousness about social apostolate arose in Chile.”⁹⁹ Furthermore, he was called “The Archbishop of the poor.” This is the main difference with Casanova.

One of his main projects was the organization of the *Primer Congreso Social Católico* in 1910, on occasion of the celebrations of the centenary of Independence. It pursued three goals: improving the situation of workers, establishing the reputation of the

⁹⁸ González Errázuriz relates that the Chilean government was very interested in promoting the career of González, although he does not explain why. In the case of the appointment as Archbishop of Flaviades, following the rules of the time that stated that the government had to proposed the candidates to the Vatican to any appointment, González Errázuriz says that notwithstanding Mariano Casanova had regard for González, he did not support his candidature for the appointment because of the weak health of González and because Casanova did not want to appear in public like he was supporting the government. González, *El Arzobispo del Centenario*, 44-46.

⁹⁹ Retamal, *Monseñor Juan Ignacio González*, 16.

Catholic Church as a leader of social reform, and the study of new social measures.¹⁰⁰

The Congress met in September and the ecclesiastical authorities decided to ask to the *Federaciones de Obras Sociales*, a lay organization, to be in charge of the organization of the Congress. The program contained five sections: Socio-Religious Works, Popular Education, Social Action, Social-Economical Works, and Propaganda. There were guests from Argentina, mainly Jesuits. In the mass that inaugurated the Congress, Priest Clovis Montero, who gave the homily, called for a better understanding of the poor, blaming their living conditions on their corrupted morality:

Do the their critics know the house of the poor? Do they know that social disgrace called the *conventillo*, where they have to live, demanding an excessive rent those who are wealthy? In a dark and small room, with only one and trashy door, filthy walls covered in some places by a piece of newspaper, a roof made of rusty tin that let the rain through it every winter, and a floor made only of damp soil. And that room is both dinning room, bedroom, kitchen and everything; there family, their many children (because poor family is always numerous) and even pets have to sleep. How can they ask them for virtue if they live in such horrible promiscuity of sexes and ages?¹⁰¹

One of the initiatives that were implemented was the constitution of the *Consejo de Habitaciones Obreras*, which built 135 houses for the poor in Santiago in 1912.

Other social initiatives of González were, for instance, the foundation of the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 18. Although it was an idea of González, the committee that convoked the Congress was also formed by Ramón Ángel Jara, Archbishop of La Serena and Apostolic Administrator of Ancud; Luis Enrique Izquierdo Archbishop of Concepción; Luis Silva Lezaeta, Apostolic Vicar of Antofagasta; and Martín Rücker, Apostolic Vicar of Tarapacá. In other words, it was the whole Chilean Catholic Church that made the Congress.

¹⁰¹ González, *El Arzobispo del Centenario*, 300. “¿Conocen los detractres del pueblo la casa del pobre? ¿Conocen esa ignominia social que se llama conventillo, donde les hacen vivir, exigiendoles sumas desmedidas los que tienen fortuna? En un cuarto oscuro y estrecho, sin más entradas para la luz, el aire y las personas que una mala puerta; murallas inmundas cubiertas a trechos por un pedazo de diario; techos de lata oxidada que en el invierno dejan pasar la lluvia, piso de tierra húmeda, inferior al de la calle. Y aquello es comedor y dormitorio, cocina y todo; allí deben pasar la noche los padres, los numeroso hijos –porque la familia del pobre es siempre numerosa- y hasta los animales domésticos. ¿Cómo pedía que sean virtuosos a los que viven en tan horrible promiscuidad de sexos y edades?”

Sociedad Victoria Prieto, in 1908, whose goal was the promotion of Catholic faith among wives' workers. In order to guarantee the attendance of the students, the Society provided lunch for them. González was instrumental as well in the creation of other similar organizations such as the *Escuela Técnica Femenina*, a Workshop-School, a Popular Theatre, the *Patronato San Isidro* (for workers' education and the building of houses for some of them); *La Hormiguita* (every woman, like a little ant, had to recollect clothes for the poor); the *Sociedad de Instrucción y Habitaciones para Obreros*; and the *Patronato Santa Filomena*. This last organization was founded by laymen, but had the support of González. Taking into account the penurious situation of the newspapermen, he decided to found a workhouse for them. The idea was to "instill in them the good principles of the Christian morality by teaching them an instruction according to their social class."¹⁰² He also kept alive the ideas of Catholic social teaching by celebrating yearly the anniversary of the *Rerum Novarum*, a day that was declared as "Christian Work Day."

González was the first ecclesiastical authority to work for and support many labor unions. His aim in doing this was to keep "capitalism within fair limits because although capitalism is very needed, it is easily exposed to abuse and tyranny."¹⁰³ Also, he started a new section in the *Revista Católica*, the oldest journal of the Chilean Catholic Church, called "Social Action."¹⁰⁴ In 1914, González founded the *Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos* (known by its Spanish acronym ANEC). This organization would give rise to the Chilean Social Action, which was founded only in 1931. Finally, when

¹⁰² Ibid., 315.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 290.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 288.

the economic effects of the First World War affected the poor, González organized the *Olla del Pobre* in order to provide food to them.

Attacking the moral effects of the Social Question, González ran a campaign against alcoholism through his administration. He supported the legal project to reform the alcohol and bars' law; and enacted a decree in 1912 with the aim of forbidding the renting of ecclesiastical properties to establish liquors stores.¹⁰⁵

In 1917, arteriosclerosis seriously affected González making his work very difficult. He died on June 9, 1918. On his deathbed, he charged the priests there and the clergy in general, "to work for keeping and improving all the works in favor of the poor, and for increasing religious vocations."¹⁰⁶ When his death was known, more than 600 persons arrived to his house in representation of the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*. As it was his wish sometime in the past, González died as a Jesuit. He was nominated as a member of the Society of Jesus only a few days before his death.

Martín Rücker

Martín Rücker Sotomayor was born on January 26, 1867 in Santiago. Due to the work of his father, who was a German trader in Valparaíso, the port closest to Santiago, the family moved to Valparaíso. He first attended the *Instituto Comercial Alemán* and later, the *Seminario San Rafael*, and was ordained on December 20, 1890. From 1899 to 1906, Rücker was teacher in the *Seminario* of geography, English, religion, logic, metaphysics, Latin, and the faith's fundamental and dogmatic theology. When Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre was appointed principal of the seminary, he and Rücker

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 292.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 335.

began a long and deep relationship framed by their common interest in the conditions of the poor.¹⁰⁷ Rücker also struck up a friendship with Ramón Ángel Jara, future Archbishop of La Serena and Ancud, and who was appointed for a while in Valparaíso. Both were concerned about Catholic social teaching as well. Furthermore, in the first of his six trips to Europe, in 1899, Rücker was appointed Jara's secretary in the Plenary Council of Latin America held in Rome.¹⁰⁸

In November 1906, he was appointed Apostolic Vicariate of Antofagasta, in northern Chile, where he was one of the most enthusiastic priests in the promotion of Catholic social teaching. Thinking that the best way to fight against socialism was by promoting Catholicism, Rücker founded in the region a mutual benefit association called *Orden Social de Tarapacá*, free schools and the *Centro Cristiano de Iquique*. The first organization gave free instruction to men and also held a *patronato* for children. By 1910, 180 students attended the school. The *Centro Cristiano de Iquique* was founded in 1907 for recreational opportunities and education for the working class. It had a library, a small theatre and a chapel.¹⁰⁹ Its creation was due to the donations of the community, secured after a meeting with Rücker who convinced them of the need of such an institution.¹¹⁰

To face the need for religion in the Vicariate and above all in the miner zone, Rücker brought in two new religious orders: the Redemptorists arrived in 1908 and worked in Huara, a small village in the middle of the desert, and also in one of the

¹⁰⁷ Rhode, *Mons. Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre*, 7.

¹⁰⁸ Robinson Cárdenas Medina, "Martín Rücker, Primer Obispo de Chillán," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 3 (1985), 48.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

¹¹⁰ Marco Antonio León León, "Martín Rücker Sotomayor y el Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá (1906-1919)," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 16 (1998), 106.

poorest neighborhoods of Iquique. The same year, the Franciscan order arrived from Belgium. These two orders, plus the Salesians, who had previously been present, worked together addressing social issues.¹¹¹ However, the gaps in social services were impossible to cover, and the Catholic Church could not deal with the great number of families, whose parents were not married. Rücker gave several conferences to workers about the Catholic social teaching.¹¹² However, the efforts was not sufficient, as León correctly asserts, because “the priests were a moral authority, but not an effective and permanent authority for workers.”¹¹³

Rücker was witness to one of the most violent repressions of workers’ movements: the Matanza de Santa María de Iquique. Even though Rücker was a mediator in the conflict as part of the “Good Men Commission,” he could do anything to stop the massacre. The newspaper *La Nación*, in an article that commemorated the event 45 years later, said that Rücker’s intervention was vital to stopping the massacre. It reported: “The Vicar Rücker ... picked up the corpse of the baby from the Bolivian women, went to Silva Renard (the general who ordered soldiers to shoot) with the baby in his arms, and opening the cassock rebuked him: if he had a thirst for Chilean blood, then he had his chest.”¹¹⁴ His own memoirs about this event highlight the massacre: “I was an eyewitness to the carnage: the sailors with their guns and their rifles killed three hundred people.”¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Ibid., 108.

¹¹² *Homenaje a la memoria del Excmo. y Revdmo. Señor Obispo Dr. Martín Rücker Sotomayor. Primer Obispo de Chillán* (Chillán: Casa Editoria Librería Americana, 1935), 32.

¹¹³ León, “Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá,” 109.

¹¹⁴ Devés, , *Los que van a morir te saludan*, 198.

¹¹⁵ Martín Rücker, “Historia del movimiento obrero en Chile en nuestros últimos tiempos,” Originally in the Archive of Bishopric of Chillán, *Manuscritos de Monseñor Rücker* and quoted by Aliaga, *La Iglesia en Chile*, 51. The whole document is also reproduced by León, “Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá,” 118-127.

His work continued in the following days to help to the wounded survivors of the massacre. However, Rücker blamed the strike on both the workers' poor living conditions, and on the spread of communism in the region. The propaganda made by leftist groups "crystallized an intense hate that dominated the relationship between capital and work."¹¹⁶

However, the large volume of work affected his health and Rücker decided to quit in 1908. He started his second trip, visiting Europe, Asia and Africa. Only after he returned to Chile, in 1911, did he officially gave the Vicariate to his successor, José María Caro, one of the most outstanding disciples of Mariano Casanova, who became the first Chilean Cardinal in 1941.

In 1910, Rücker was appointed Vicar General of Santiago where he continued his social work. He cooperated in the creation of workers' associations, worked hard to spread among workers the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, and published many articles in the press about Catholic social teaching. He also gave many lectures that were published in a three-volume book called *Conferencias Populares* between 1912 and 1915.¹¹⁷ Given that the Archbishop of Santiago, José Ignacio González, was very old and had problems fulfilling his duties, Rücker became his involved and more active assistant. One of his more important roles was the presidency of the *Centro Cristiano de Instrucción*, founded, as it has to be recalled, by Mariano Casanova. During this appointment, Rücker founded many schools within the diocese: in San Felipe (1910), Los Andes and Talca (1911),

¹¹⁶ Rücker, "Historia del movimiento obrero" in León, "Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá," 112. "Cristalizó un intenso odio que comenzó a dominar entre los dos grandes elementos de la producción: el capital y el trabajo."

¹¹⁷ These lectures will be studied in the next section.

Curicó (1912), Quillota (1913), and Rancagua (1915).

As Vicar of Santiago, Rücker had to travel to Europe in 1911 and 1914. In his first visit, Rücker met with the priest Rutten, who founded the first Catholic trade unions in Belgium.¹¹⁸ This meeting was made possible thanks to an invitation sent by the Chilean Jesuit Jorge Fernández Pradel to Rücker.¹¹⁹ The 1914 travel was due to the visit *Ad Limina* to Rome representing Archbishop González.

Rücker left the Vicariate in 1914 to become the President of the Catholic University. There, he founded the *Revista Universitaria*, the *Centro de Estudios Sociales*, the course of Social Economy (whose professor was Juan Enrique Concha) and the *Conferencias de San Vicente de Paul* that aimed to visit workers' schools, give lectures in workers' meetings and teach in night schools.¹²⁰ Rücker said, concerning these activities: "Convinced of the importance of these complementary institutions to the educational work of the University, I have tried every time I have been able, to reach them and leave in the souls of students some useful knowledge."¹²¹ He had to quit in 1921, according to some historians, due to his social ideas, which were considered too progressive by some conservative people in the University. However, there is no consensus among historians. While Cardenas states that "Conservative forces oppose resistance against ideas of social change."¹²² Krebs claims that it did not seem that Rücker wanted to make changes in the University; furthermore, he thinks that there was continuity in the work of all the

¹¹⁸ Aubert, *The Church in a Secularised Society*, 102.

¹¹⁹ Cárdenas, "Martín Rücker," 54.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹²¹ Jaime Caiceo Escudero, "El Pensamiento Educativo-Social, en su vertiente católica en la primera mitad del siglo XX en Chile," *Anuario de la Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 6 (1988), 116-117.

¹²² Aliaga, *La Iglesia en Chile*, 168 and Cárdenas, "Martín Rücker," 55.

Presidents of the University in that time. He continues by saying that, according to the sources, it seems to be more possible that the problem was a personal divergence between the Archbishop Crescente Errázuriz and Rücker, both of whom had strong personalities. Moreover, Rücker wished to have some independence from the Archbishop in his work in the University.¹²³ A letter to the Archbishop by Rücker revealed in 1971 shows this. Rücker say to the Archbishop Errázuriz: “You condemn me without listening to me, you only have listen to people who are interested in set you against me.”¹²⁴

This problem affected Rücker a great deal and decided to travel again to Europe. This time it was for a long period. He left Chile in February 1920 and returned almost four years later, January 1924. He spent one year and a half in Spain, four months in Germany, one month in Belgium, three months in England, six months in Italy, and even some time in Egypt and Holy Land.¹²⁵ The travel also was possible because of the several languages that Rücker spoke.¹²⁶ Rücker said his aim was to study educational institutions in Europe,¹²⁷ but he also spent a great deal of time studying European Catholic social teaching and the works of Catholic priests about the Social Question. In Navarra, for example, he visited a priest who was forming labor unions and cooperatives for

¹²³ Ricardo Krebs, *Historia De La Pontificia Universidad Católica De Chile, 1888-1988* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 1994), 125. Also, Marco Antonio León León points out that during his time in Santiago, Rücker faced “conflicts, personal frictions and disagreements with the authorities.” León, “Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá,” 117.

¹²⁴ Quoted by Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 56. In the same page, he also quoted the words that Carlos Casanueva, successor of Rücker in the presidency of the Catholic University, told when Rücker died in 1935: “He was tried in severe circumstances of his life as an astute and shrewd politician would be tried, while he was a child by the ingenuity and evangelical simplicity of his soul; and hence he received accusations and charges that, although wrong at bottom, were unfair, and tore apart his soul until hurting him very deeply.”

¹²⁵ Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 57.

¹²⁶ English, Italian, French, German.

¹²⁷ Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 57.

workers.¹²⁸ He held many conferences in front of a diverse public, but mainly he talks to workers. Fernando Márquez de la Plata said that “in the workers’ centers his ideas were strong praised. The whole Spain began to know him.”¹²⁹

In April of 1923, Rucker was appointed Bishop of Mariamés (not in charge of diocese), and also Ecclesiastic Governor of Chillán (a city in southern Chile), which represented a practical appointment. The ceremony of his consecration as Bishop was in Burgos Cathedral, Spain. In Chillán, Rucker continued working towards his main interest: the situation of the workers. In 1925, for example, he created the *Escuela San Vicente* for teaching carpentry and shoemaking. Seeing that the division of the land was a significant problem in the region and that Social Question did not have to do only with urban workers but also with countryside workers, Rucker was hard at concerning the establishment of agricultural labor unions by writing studies about the best way to do it.¹³⁰

In 1926, Chillán was designated Bishopric and Rucker was appointed its first Bishop. In his first pastoral, he outlined his goals: protection of family and youth, and “we will be in charge about the Social Question in particular.”¹³¹ As the overseer of a new Bishopric, Rucker had to do a great deal of administrative work to organize the diocese. He founded more parishes; organized the finances of the Bishopric; and created

¹²⁸ *Homenage*, 80.

¹²⁹ Fernando Márquez de la Plata, “Homenaje al Arzobispo Martín Rucker Sotomayor,” *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia* 5 (1935), 212-215.

¹³⁰ Marco Antonio León León, “Martín Rucker Sotomayor y la problemática social en la Gobernación Eclesiástica y el Obispado de Chillán (1924-1935) Primera Parte,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 20 (2002), 143.

¹³¹ Cárdenas, “Martín Rucker,” 61.

a new section of the Seminary in the city. In order to spread Catholicism, he visited the diocese four times during the eleven years that he was in charge of the Archbishopric - staying at least three days in every parish; he organized Eucharistic congresses in almost all the parishes of the diocese; and wrote twenty-seven pastorals about the most diverse topics and many articles in the newspapers of Chillán.¹³²

Concerning social labor, for example, he pushed for state subsidization for Catholic social labor such as the *Casa de Huérfanos* and assisting beggars and the creation of workers' centers. He also founded a nursing home for girls.¹³³ The financial situation of these initiatives became more urgent in 1925 when the Church and the State were separated and the Church stopped receiving money from the government. Furthermore, as new Bishopric as Chillan was, it did not have savings to afford these expenditures.¹³⁴ Nonetheless, Rücker made enormous efforts to carry out his purposes of helping the poor. Rücker kept in touch with the Jesuits of the Seminar settled in Chillán and worked in many activities concerning social action with them."¹³⁵ In his posthumous homage, a Jesuit recalled this anecdote:

Once, Rücker called to the school asking for some brothers of the Society because he wanted to go to visit prisoners in the jail of Chillán... He went into a cigarette store and bought some packets for them... That was the charitable heart of our Monsignor! But he was not satisfied with that. In the jail, he gave out clothes for the prisoners, having for every each of them a warm and strong handshake and a some kind words. He told them about his last visit to the Pope, he talked to them

¹³² Cárdenas, 63-64 and Rücker, Chillán 1, 138.

¹³³ Homenaje, 210.

¹³⁴ León, "Obispado de Chillán, Primera Parte," 149. About the financial problems of the Archbishopric, see also *Homenaje*, 221.

¹³⁵ Cárdenas, "Martín Rücker," 62.

about him, the Church and Jesus.¹³⁶

Rücker was very about the understanding about the social problems as a topic that affected the whole society. In 1927, by means of his pastoral “Social Problems”, he identified four causes of the crisis he saw. First, the material need that the poor had;¹³⁷ the crisis in the human conscience in people that explained why the rich did not have any interest in assisting the poor; the inclination toward luxury, pleasures, and wasting of money; and the widespread manner of entertainment, such as the theater and cinema.¹³⁸ His main act in the realm of Social Catholicism was the foundation of the Catholic Action in Chillán in 1934, being the first section founded in Chile. He defined it as “the organization of the Catholic forces, according to the wish of the Church in order she (the Church) carries out in the earth the mission that God ordered her in the world.”¹³⁹ In 1930, the Catholic Action was definitely formed.¹⁴⁰

Rücker continued to work hard, even though he faced serious financial problems

¹³⁶ *Homenage*, 161. “Cierta vez llamó al colegio pidiendo algunos hermanos de compañía porque deseaba visitar presos en la cárcel de Chillán... entró a una cigarrería y pidió varios paquetes de cigarillos; eran para los reclusos... ¡Ese corazón lleno de caridad era el de Monseñor! Mas no se contentó con eso; él ya en medio de ellos repartió paquetes de ropa con sus manos a esos pobrecitos, teniendo para cada uno un fuerte apretón de manos y una frase bondadosa... Les quiso narrar su última visita al Santo Padre, se los dio a conocer, les habló de la Iglesia, de Jesús.”

¹³⁷ I translate “pueblo” as poor.

¹³⁸ León, “Obispado de Chillán, Primera Parte,” 150.

¹³⁹ Quoted by Marco Antonio León León, “Martín Rücker Sotomayor y la problemática social en la Gobernación Eclesiástica y el Obispado de Chillán (1924-1935) Segunda Parte” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 21 (2003), 181. Originally in *La Revista Católica*, 646 (1928), 753. “La organización de las fuerzas católicas, en conformidad a los deseos de la Iglesia, a fin de que ella desempeñe en el orden temporal la misión que Dios le ha confiado en este mundo.”

¹⁴⁰ León, “Obispado de Chillán, Segunda Parte,” 183. In its directory: the *Congregación Mariana de Caballeros*; the *Madres Cristianas* and *Hijas de María*; the *Juventud Católica*; the *Congregación Mariana de Jóvenes*; and the *Federación de Obreros Católicos*.

for his activities.¹⁴¹ When he was conducting the mass that closed the Eucharistic Congress of 1934 on Christmas Day, Rücker got bronchopneumonia because the chapel where he celebrated the mass was unfinished and did not have ceiling yet. He was hospitalized and passed away in January 6, 1935. Many people went to his funeral, in particular from workers' organization. Attendance of members of the *Liga del Trabajo*, for example, was compulsory.¹⁴² 28 notes of condolences were sent from the most diverse people and countries.¹⁴³ To honor his memory, a few months later a three hundred pages book with testimonials and remembrances of him was published.¹⁴⁴

Fernando Vives

Fernando Vives is one of the priests that less is known about. Although he is very well known for his polemical life and for having been one of the mentors of Saint Alberto Hurtado, detailed research is needed concerning his life and his personality. Such work would allow having a more balanced appreciation of his historical significance and thought. Vives has been usually depicted as a progressive priest whose ideas bothered Chilean conservatives who caused him to go to exile twice, although he had the support and friendship of some ecclesiastical authorities, such as the Archbishop Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre.

Fernando Vives Solar was born in Santiago on March 24, 1871. He had a very

¹⁴¹ Rafael Edwards, General Advisor of the Catholic Action, in the tribute to Rücker after his death, says "He did not find necessary cooperation to carry out his social works because of the scarce support from many landowner (hacendados) who skimmed the religious tax. All his projects were limited... he was powerless for helping to his loved workers." In *Homenage*, 96.

¹⁴² *Homenage*, 143.

¹⁴³ For example, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, Spain, from the Palestine Colony and from the prisoners' of Chillán's jail. *Homenage*, 260-261 and 277-284.

¹⁴⁴ *Homenage*.

late entry into the religious vocation since he attended the *Instituto Nacional* for secondary school. He attended law school at the University of Chile but when the Catholic University was founded in 1888, he continued his studies in the latter. However, he did not become a lawyer. He left the university and worked for a while in the countryside.¹⁴⁵ In 1896, Vives entered the Santiago Seminary to become a priest. One year later, he went to Córdoba, Argentina, to begin his studies with the Society of Jesus. He was ordained a priest in 1908 in Spain and made his vows, aiming to serve poor people. Before he returned to Chile in 1909, Vives visited some Catholic-Worker organizations in Italy, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Spain.

With these experiences, Vives returned to Chile with the aim of applying what he had learned in Europe.¹⁴⁶ He was appointed director of the *Congregación Mariana* and history teacher in the *Colegio San Ignacio*, which belonged to the Society of Jesus. He also created the *Academia de Sociología* in the school, where he talked about “the importance of the direct knowledge of reality.”¹⁴⁷ In classes, he taught the students the Catholic social teaching held in *Rerum Novarum* and emphasized that the solution to the struggle between social classes was a more equitable distribution of wealth.¹⁴⁸ As most of the students were from conservative families and they talked about Vives’ classes at home, their parents complained to the authorities of the *Colegio San Ignacio*.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ There is not more information about this activity. See Rafael Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar, Escritos Del Padre Fernando Vives Solar* (Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 1993), 13 and Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 665.

¹⁴⁶ Trinidad Zaldívar, “Fernando Vives Solar, S. J.” In http://www.uc.cl/facteo/centromanuellarrain/htm/zaldivar_fernando.htm (accessed October 18, 2010)

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 665.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

Furthermore, he supposedly had problems with the other Jesuits: “his warm and sympathetic attitude towards students... was not shared by their superiors who had imposed a more stringent style.” But the most important problem was because of his “aspiration to serve the workers, which was far from the ideas of the Conservative Party.”¹⁵⁰ Conservatives blamed Vives of being a communist and demagogue,¹⁵¹ and affirmed that Catholic social teaching was good for Europe, but not for Chile.¹⁵² Actually, Vives was quite the opposite. In a letter to one of his most distinguished disciples, the future Saint Alberto Hurtado, Vives said: “the Social Question and politics must not be mixed.”¹⁵³

The pressure from conservatives finally led the Jesuits to exile Vives, who had to leave Chile between 1912 and 1914.¹⁵⁴ He was transferred to Córdoba, Argentina. Araneda asserts that in this decision the Archbishop González could not defend Vives because of his “lack of energy and courage,” although the Archbishop felt for him a deep appreciation.¹⁵⁵ In Argentina, Vives kept working on social issues. He organized two cooperatives for workers, a company for building cheap houses for workers, groups of

¹⁵⁰ Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 14.

¹⁵¹ The original in Spanish is “politiquero.”

¹⁵² Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 666.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Zaldívar refers an anecdote about when Vives left Chile that reflects the estimation that his students felt for him. They went to the train station the day he had to left and stand in front of the train making this stopped. They registered all the wagons, but Vives was not there. Thinking that his students would do something like that, he had not departed from the train station. Then, the students came back to the Saint Ignacio School and shouting “May the Principal dies!” threw to the walls some small flasks with a red colorant inside. Zaldívar, “Fernando Vives Solar, S. J.”

¹⁵⁵ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 666.

social studies, an orphanage, and directed the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*.¹⁵⁶

When Vives returned to Chile, in 1915, he continued with his commitment to workers by serving again as Director of the *Academia de Sociología* of the *Colegio San Ignacio* and founding study groups to discuss Catholic social teaching with some students from school. Also, several labor unions were created thanks to his support.¹⁵⁷ Thanks to an invitation of Monsignor José María Caro, Vives organized the first *Semana Social de Iquique*, in northern Chile.¹⁵⁸ Once again, the most conservative sectors of Chilean society disagreed with him and Vives had to leave Chile. Although originally it was for only one year, Vives was gone for almost fourteen years. Vives lived in Europe between 1918 and 1931, and there he took the opportunity to learn more about Catholic Social Action in Belgium, France and Spain. In Spain, for example, he organized the *Asociación para los Inmigrantes San Rafael* and the *Juventud Obrera Católica*. Thanks to this post, Vives was the delegate of Spain in the Immigration Section of the “International Office of the Work” of the League of Nations.¹⁵⁹ Also, and despite the distance, Vives kept in touch with some of his students at Saint Ignacio School.

Finally, he returned to Chile in 1931, although, according to Zaldívar, only because Jesuits were expelled from Spain with the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic. This time, Vives faced fewer problems than in previous years. According to Sagredo, it was because Vives “was framed by a movement within the Chilean church

¹⁵⁶ “Fernando Vives s.j. precursor desconocido.” Informe Ethos N° 54 (2007). In http://etica.uahurtado.cl/html/informe_ethos_54.html (Accessed October 18, 2010).

¹⁵⁷ Drivers, nurses, rail workers, needlewomen and stores’ employees. Zaldívar, “Fernando Vives Solar, S. J.”

¹⁵⁸ Informe Ethos, “Fernando Vives.”

¹⁵⁹ Zaldívar, “Fernando Vives Solar, S. J.”

that developed in the early thirties and that intended to incorporate the laity into the apostolic tasks.”¹⁶⁰ Also, his work was easier since most of his disciples kept his popularity alive and, therefore, his return was awaited eagerly by some young students.¹⁶¹ He continued working and focused on youth and workers. In 1931, the Archbishop of Santiago, José Horacio Campillo Infante, appointed Vives as Director of the *Secretariado Económico Social de la Acción Católica*. Vives, along with the priests Manuel Larraín and Oscar Larson, was one of the most important advisors of the *Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos*.¹⁶² He also founded and directed two organizations: The *Liga de Acción Sacerdotal* (for the clergy) and the *Liga Social* (for the leaderships of social institutions). Both organizations aimed to give instruction about social issues.¹⁶³ Other organizations he created were the *Unión de Trabajadores Católicos*, the *Vanguardia Obrera Juvenil* and several study centers for workers. He also, finally, gave many lectures about the Social Question. In 1932, he was President of the Council of the *Universidad Popular Juan Enrique Concha* for workers and employees, and organized the *Semana Social del Clero*.

Among all these activities, Vives’ main commitment was with the *Liga Social*. This organization held conferences, and organized cooperatives, labor unions, and associations of young Catholic workers who received medical and legal assistance.

¹⁶⁰ Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 20.

¹⁶¹ Zaldívar, “Fernando Vives Solar, S. J.”

¹⁶² Fernando Aliaga Rojas, “El pensamiento de los jóvenes fundadores de la Acción Católica Chilena,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 3 (1985), 14.

¹⁶³ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 666.

Vives' aim with the Liga was to give to the workers the means to "save themselves."¹⁶⁴ The Liga was formed by many of the prominent young intellectuals of the time, the "Generation of 1930." Most of them became important politicians and intellectuals decades later.¹⁶⁵

The *Liga* was also one of Vives' most polemic actions. In 1933, the Chilean prelacy decided that all the youth who were part of the ANEC and the Liga had to be members of the Conservative Party. Although Vives did not give his opinion in public, everyone knew that he thought the Social Question did not have to be mixed with politics. Finally, the struggle reached the Vatican. In 1934, a letter from Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli arrived to the Archbishopric of Santiago. It said that Catholics could participate in any political party as long as the organization gave guarantees to the Church. In other words, The Conservative Party was set apart from the Church. There is a version that held that the letter from Cardinal Pacelli responded to another letter sent to Rome from a group of members of the *Liga* who did not want to be member of the Conservative Party. Jaime Eyzaguirre would have written the letter in Vives' office.

Despite this achievement (that he never recognized though), the conservative sector succeeded in removing Vives again from the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Conservative Party blamed Vives for distancing young Catholics from the party. Vives was taken out of the Catholic Action and the direction of the *Secretariado Social del*

¹⁶⁴ Zaldívar. "Fernando Vives Solar, S. J."

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. Eduardo Frei Montalva, Bernardo Leighton and Ignacio Palma were the founders of the Christian Democracy Party in 1957. In 1964, Frei became the first Chilean President who belonged neither to the right nor to the left. Roque Esteban Scarpa, a writer, received the National Prize for Literature in 1980. Jaime Eyzaguirre and Mario Góngora were outstanding historians; some scholars consider the latter to be the best historian in Chile. Julio Philippi was a lawyer that excelled in diplomacy.

Clero; the Archbishop Campillo also decided to cancel the *Semana Social del Clero* organized for Vives in 1935.¹⁶⁶ The ecclesiastical hierarchy also reprehended Vives when he asserted in a magazine interview that “both the right and the left are economical trends; the right want to keep the past regime and the left promotes some new order.”¹⁶⁷ A new exile seemed imminent, but before the ecclesiastical hierarchy could execute another order, Fernando Vives died on September 21, 1935. Knowing about the possibility of this last exile, Vives wrote shortly before his death:

I have my conscience very tranquil and, although it be very painful to think that there are some people who take advantage of my religious status, with a vow of obedience to you, to influence through you on my behavior, I solemnly declare that I will not change in my thoughts or in my works on this matter and that I prefer take for the third time the exile.¹⁶⁸

Priests, friends, disciples, socialists, leaders of labor unions, youth, workers and even members of the Conservative Party attended his funeral.

Casanova, González, Rücker and Vives in the formation of Social Catholic thought.

To what extent did Casanova, González, Rücker and Vives represent the thought about Social Catholicism in this period? To answer this question it is necessary to differentiate hierarchy from authority. The four of them are ecclesiastical authorities, but not all were part of the hierarchy. Fernando Vives was only a Jesuit priest, although he worked in some important posts and his influence is undeniable.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Quoted by Zaldívar. “Las derechas mantenedores del régimen pasado y las izquierdas las propiciadoras de algún orden nuevo.”

¹⁶⁸ Aliaga Rojas, “El pensamiento de los jóvenes fundadores,” 24. “Tengo mi conciencia muy tranquila y aunque sea muy doloroso pensar que hay quienes se aprovechan de mi situación de religioso, sometido con voto de obediencia a V.R. para influir por medio de V.R. en mi modo de obrar, le declaro solemnemente que no cambiaré ni en mis pensamientos ni en mis obras en este particular y que prefiero antes tomar por tercera vez el camino del destierro.”

Another thing we must consider is whether they represent a generation or not. I argue that although most of them knew each other, they cannot be considered as representatives of a generation. First, they represent the evolution of thought of the Catholic Church rather than a unified corpus of thought. The case of Vives sheds some light on this. At the end of his life, his social ideas had the support of the Archbishopric, but he still faced the opposition from the Conservative Party. This problem was not only between him and the political party, rather, it was part of a bigger problem about the role of religion in society. The social ideas of Vives were not the main problem in the 1930's but how they had to be fulfilled. Another reason to not consider them as part of a generation is that the four of them did not work together as a group. Casanova, González and Rücker sometimes worked in the same place on similar issues. González was an assistant of Casanova, and Rücker was an assistant of González. González, Rücker and Vives shared some ideas and projects in which they worked together, as has been observed in the biography section. Casanova and Vives, however, did not have the chance to keep in touch. Vives went into the Seminary in Chile in 1896 and left to Argentina, and Europe later, one year later. He came back in 1909, one year after Casanova's death. Also, both Rücker and Vives met in many conferences.¹⁶⁹ This reveals an important characteristic they both shared: they were aware of their important public role, giving many lectures and writing in newspapers and journals. They also were those

¹⁶⁹ They met, for example, in the *Semana Social del Clero* of 1932 and 1933 in Santiago, and in the *Congreso Eucarístico de Buenos Aires* in 1934. About the meeting of 1932, Vives wrote: "We knew Rücker's lecture would be good, but our expectations were exceeded: he talks brightly about science, philosophy, ecclesiastical legislation." Fernando Vives, "Semana Social del Clero," September 21st, 1932, *La Unión*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 219. For the other meetings, see pages 315, 317 and 427.

who faced more problems because of their works about social issues.

The conditions and milieu in which the four of them developed their works were different as well. Both Casanova and González did not face so many problems because of their character (and of course because they reached the highest position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy), as compared to Rücker and Vives who had stronger personalities and explained their ideas in a very vehement way. However, no matter their differences, they all shared a common concern for the poor, as the next section will show. Differences were about the level of the works they thought were needed.

From resigned poor to active workers... But forever workers. Changes and continuities.

When studying the ideas of Casanova, González, Rücker and Vives, there are some values that remain along these forty-four years, but also there are other ideas that show an evolution of ecclesiastical thought. The purpose of this section is to see the permanence or change of these ideas. Recognizing the existence of social Catholicism long before 1891, as it was noted in the first sections of these paper, the importance of the texts here analyzed, above all Casanova and González's pastorals, lies in their *foundational character*. Social Catholicism practices by laymen and laywomen got the institutional support from the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Another argument of this section is that, among the changes in Catholic thought, the introduction of the idea of justice along with the always-present virtue of charity is fundamental. However, in these texts it is possible to see the permanence of the idea of a hierarchical organization of the society, where social mobility was not possible.

In the Pastoral of Mariano Casanova, about the publication of the *Rerum Novarum*, the Archbishop recognized that the social problems that affected the poor were due to the excesses of capitalism. The Catholic Church modified the idea of the elite that moral problems were the cause of poverty. The Social Question is the economic consequence of the ambition and avarice of the rich. In this environment, it was not possible to ask for morality. The poor were not guilty of alcoholism or promiscuity, for instance. Quoting Saint Tomas Aquinas, Rücker said: “A good house is necessary, in material and moral terms. If there is not some level of comfort, it is difficult to have some level of virtuousness.”¹⁷⁰

However, the priests also recognized that the cause of the excesses of capitalism were the irreligion of the people, regardless if they were poor or rich. In the wealth, this situation caused “lack of charity, excessive selfishness, exaggerated desires to purchase goods of fortune, exaggerated love of luxury and comforts of life, narrowing of soul to love our neighbors, dimness of the concept of justice.” While the poor, if they did not have religion as central in their life, when the Social Question, they obtained “easiness to hear only about rights and never about duties, promptitude to be dominated by hate.”¹⁷¹

Vives is more direct in his criticism. He did not talk about “the excesses of capitalism” but about the mistaken action of the rich that affected the poor: “Christian teaching about wealth asks for a more equitable distribution of land, goods, for a better

¹⁷⁰ Martín Rücker, “El Hogar Cristiano,” in *Conferencias Populares*, Segunda Serie, 1915, 76. Also see Rücker, “Figura histórica del Cardenal Manning,” in *Conferencias Populares*, Tercera Serie, 1916, 39.

¹⁷¹ Martín Rücker, “La Cuestión Social y la Iglesia,” in *Conferencias Populares*, Tercera Serie, 1916, 52. “Falta de caridad, exceso de egoísmo, anhelos exagerados para adquirir bienes de fortuna, amor exagerado al lujo y a las comodidades de la vida, estrechez de alma para amar al prójimo, oscurecimiento del concepto de justicia.” “Facilidad para oír hablar sólo de derechos y nunca de deberes, prontitud para dejarse dominar de odio.”

paid job, and mostly that the man understands he has to moderate his greed, obtain and keep his property under the laws of justice... (But) the rich do not want to hear truths”¹⁷²

Talking about the right of the poor to improve their conditions, Vives said firmly: “Ensconced in their comfortable positions of the past and imagining that Chile is a land designed for exclusive use of its pleasures and comforts, many can not withstand another fraction, and the largest in the nation, is entitled to participate in the banquet others thought to be the only guests.”¹⁷³

The attitude that workers had about their own situation also experienced changes in this period. In 1891, Casanova asked for resignation from the poor by saying that the rich person must be “generous and charitable” and the poor one, “resigned and laborious.”¹⁷⁴ Rücker and Vives, on the other hand, thought the opposite. It was not possible to have an attitude of resignation toward what was happening in society. They agreed on accepting poverty only when it was due to the natural differences in life, not when it came from injustice. The aim of Vives in promoting social organizations was to achieve that workers “thought for themselves.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Fernando Vives, “La Iglesia y la Riqueza,” February 19th and 26th, 1932, *La Unión*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 142 and 143. “La doctrina cristiana sobre la riqueza pide una distribución más equitativa de los bienes de la tierra, que el trabajo sea mejor remunerado y que sobre todo el hombre comprenda que ha de moderar sus codicias, ganar y conservar sus bienes conforme a las leyes de la justicia... Los ricos no quieren oír verdades.”

¹⁷³ Fernando Vives, “Nuestra obligación social,” February 6th, 1932, *La Unión*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 137. ““Parapetados en sus cómodas posiciones de antaño e imaginando que Chile es un feudo, destinado para uso exclusivo de sus placeres y comodidades, muchos no pueden soportar que otra fracción, y la más numerosa de la nación, se encuentre con derechos a participar del banquete del que los otros se creían únicos comensales.”

¹⁷⁴ Mariano Casanova, *Pastoral que el Illmo. y Rvmo. Señor Doctor Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile, dirige al clero y fieles al publicar la Encíclica de Nuestro Santísimo Padre León XIII sobre la condición de los obreros*, in Grez-Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 381.

¹⁷⁵ Zaldívar, “Fernando Vives, S. J.”

Nevertheless, challenging social injustices did not mean that the Catholic Church agreed with the idea of equality. Mariano Casanova started his first Pastoral about the Social Question by arguing that inequality was something that men cannot change because “wealth inequality comes from inequities in natural talent, skills and strengths, and men do not have to correct these inequalities, because it is not in their power to equalize the status of all.”¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, equality was a value only applicable when talking about Catholic people. Rücker argues that “The Church is the only place of equality and of real democracy”¹⁷⁷ However, when talking about talents and aptitudes, it could not be argued that equality exists: “The natural development of work will make that those who are active, brave, courageous, and smart, be favored by fortune... The opposite will happen to the lazy, stupid, coward, and wicked ones.”¹⁷⁸ Also, differences were due to different opportunities in life: “The environment offers to some people the chance of being enlightened, making wealth, advancing in society, finding an easy opportunity for a good position in society; to another ones that does not happen, but the social environment in which they move is a serious obstacle to find their well-being and secure their future.”¹⁷⁹

However, this recognition was not enough for accepting social mobility. In Chile,

¹⁷⁶ Casanova, *Pastoral... sobre la condición de los obreros*, in Grez-Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 380.

¹⁷⁷ Martín Rücker, “El descanso dominical,” in *Conferencias Populares, Primera Serie*, 1914, 49.

¹⁷⁸ Martín Rücker, “La igualdad social,” in *Conferencias Populares, Primera Serie*, 1914, 181-182. “El desarrollo natural del trabajo hará que los activos, los valientes, los arrojados, los inteligentes, sean favorecidos por la fortuna... Lo contrario acontecerá a los perezosos, torpes, cobardes y de ánimo vil.”

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 182. “El medio ambiente a unos les brinda la oportunidad de ilustrarse, de hacer ricos, de adelantar en la sociedad, de encontrar oportunidad fácil de colocación social; a otros no les sucede eso, sino que el medio social en que se desvuelven les es grave obstáculo para encontrar su bienestar y asegurar su porvenir.”

as in Latin America in general, socio-economic segregation is still one of the main characteristics of society.¹⁸⁰ Unlike in American society, for example, the idea of the “self-made man” is not present. Social mobility is not possible. Casanova and González said nothing about this directly¹⁸¹ because, I argue, it was not necessary. The organization of society was obvious; society was based in a hierarchical organization, according to the natural law: “The concept of society was one of an organic entity, partitioned, made of small and large groups or corporations, where there were high and low levels, and where social inequalities and inequities in order and property were legitimate and natural.”¹⁸² Rücker did not say anything about this, although by his ideas about equality it is possible to see his position. He said “Christianity shows to the poor the path of suffering that Jesus had and his predilection for the poor.”¹⁸³

What is surprising is that the progressive Vives agreed with this statement. He was the only one of the four who recognized the existence of the middle class and, therefore, did not divided society into two groups: “Between capitalists and genuine

¹⁸⁰ See, for example, Mario Waissbluth, *Se acabó el recreo. La desigualdad en la educación* (Santiago: Editorial Random House Mondadori, 2010).

¹⁸¹ In his Pastoral of 1905, Casanova identified the problems that the lower classes suffered most, such as alcoholism, uncleanliness, low quality of housing, and poor education, among others. Although this was a very short document, only five pages, Casanova formed here his idea of society. In the section about education, Casanova proposed that: “Schools have to provide strong moral and religious principles... At the same time, the school has to forms good republicans, who have to strongly love their fatherland and be available to die for it. In the School, they will learn their rights but also their duties, the respect for authority, and love for the order. Without them, progress and well-being are not possible.” Mariano Casanova, *Pastoral acerca de la necesidad de mejorar la condición social del pueblo*, in Retamal, *Monseñor Mariano Casanova*, 29.

¹⁸² Valdivieso, *Dignidad Humana*, 231. “El concepto de sociedad era de un todo orgánico, compartimentado, compuesto por pequeños y grandes grupos, corporaciones, donde había estratos altos y bajos, y donde las desigualdades sociales y en el orden y la propiedad eran legítimas y naturales.”

¹⁸³ Martín Rücker, “Las desigualdades sociales,” in *Conferencias Populares*, Tercera Serie, 1916, 68. “Entre los capitalistas y los genuinos proletarios hay un sinnúmero de seres intermedios, que podrían formar clases con intereses, educación, inteligencia distintos.”

proletarians, there are countless intermediate beings, who could frame classes with different interests, education and intelligence.”¹⁸⁴ However, social mobility was not an option: “I do not ask that workers can be high school graduates; God keeps them free from such a calamity, but (they could obtain) a little larger knowledge in order to discover new horizons in life and more use to their understanding; this kind of instruction they need, apart from those essential technical knowledge for their jobs.”¹⁸⁵ Vives contended that by educating young workers, the only result would be that “they would be uprooted or embarrassed by their social origin.” The solution was “to try that these workers live, grow up, produce and have influence in their own milieu, in their factory, workshop, neighborhood, in the social class they belong to... They are the only ones who can have that influence, if they do not, anyone will.”¹⁸⁶

In the end, what these views demonstrate is that paternalism remained present in the Catholic thought. When talking about the convenience of *patronatos*, for example, Rücker pointed out that “if the poor man looks at the rich as his employer and protector, if he recognized his employer as an actual father, I cannot understand why the hate

¹⁸⁴ Fernando Vives, “Clases Sociales,” July 6th, 1932, *La Unión*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 185.

¹⁸⁵ Fernando Vives, “Educación Obrera,” November 1st, 1933, *La Unión*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 341-342. “No pido que los obreros sean bachilleres: Dios les libre de semejante calamidad; pero conocimientos un poco más vastos que les descubran nuevos horizontes de la vida y les den más ocupación al entendimiento, le son necesarios, aparte de aquellos técnicos indispensables para sus oficios.” He added: “Se ha de huir del espíritu de abstracción incompatible con entendimientos poco cultivados; al pueblo se le deba hablar en su lengua.”

¹⁸⁶ Fernando Vives, “El Porvenir de la Clase Obrera,” July 8th, 1934, *La Unión*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 397. “Procurar que estos asalariados vivan, se desarrollen, produzcan acción, tengan influencia en su medio; en su fábrica, en su taller, en su barrio, en la vecindad, en la clase que pertenecen... Son los únicos que pueden ejercer esa influencia, si ellos no la tienen, ninguno la tendrá.”

between them.”¹⁸⁷ The upper class had to take care of the poor as if they were children. González, for example, states that “We have to be open to the complaints of our workers, we have to be fond and paternal with them in order to convince them that honesty and love for justice govern our souls” “¹⁸⁸

The role of the State was the other topic that experienced changes in this period. Following the idea of the Vatican in this aspect, Casanova called for a participation in the problem, but not for a leading role: “The role of the state is to take part only when the rights of workers are not respected,”¹⁸⁹ such as the need for a law about Sunday rest, for example. Instead, the emphasis was on private action by means of the associations like mutual benefit associations and workers’ associations or *patronatos*.¹⁹⁰ The state could only intervene, Rücker added, “in all those things that private are unable to attend,”¹⁹¹ such as housing. However, he recognized the need for a Labor Code that could regulate the relationship between employers and workers, and, moreover, this labor code would be “the best guarantee for workers.”¹⁹²

The state should be working together with what associations could do. González and Rücker strongly promoted the convenience of workers associations. For workers,

¹⁸⁷ Rücker, “Las desigualdades sociales,” in *Conferencias Populares*, Tercera Serie, 1916, 67. “Si el pobre mira al rico como patrono y protector, si en él reconoce un verdadero padre, no comprendemos cómo sea posible el odio entre el uno y el otro.”

¹⁸⁸ Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre, *Pastoral sobre la Cuestión Social*, in González, *El Arzobispo del Centenario*, 386. “Debemos ser fáciles para dar cabida a las quejas de nuestros obreros, debemos ser cariñosos y paternales con ellos, a fin de persuadirlos con obras de que en nuestra alma reinan la rectitud y el amor a la justicia.”

¹⁸⁹ Casanova, *Pastoral... sobre la condición de los obreros*, in Grez-Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 381.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Martín Rücker, “La Iglesia y el niño,” in *Conferencias Populares*, Primera Serie, 1914, 167.

¹⁹² Martín Rücker, *Pastoral que el Ilmo. Sr. Dr. Martín Rücker Sotomayor, Obispo de Chillán dirige al clero y fieles sobre el trabajo cristiano* (Chillán: Talleres Gráficos “La Discusión,” 1934), 18.

González thought, associations were not only good, but also an urgent need because many workers do not have any hope to improve their lives because they were isolated.¹⁹³ In addition, associations would also contribute to avoiding the perils of socialism: “Mutualism has very interesting social functions: to prevent workers from falling into communism and to prepare them for a good transition to unionization.”¹⁹⁴

However, the ideas that experienced the most changes in these four decades were those about justice. From a marginal position in the discourse, the idea of justice moved to the central place. In his second pastoral about the Social Question, in 1893, Casanova focused on the importance of charity as a virtue that allowed Christians to aid helpless persons: “Catholic charity provides protection to the innocent, regeneration to prostituted women, education to the ignorant, mothers to foundlings, consolation to those in prison, and bread to the hungry.”¹⁹⁵ Twenty years later, Rücker affirmed that by Catholic Action “principles of justice have to be largely fulfilled, and later, if it were needed, the principles of charity as well.”¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, charity would be always present. “Justice... would be futile without charity,” Vives affirmed.¹⁹⁷ However, since the main concern now was not on consolation for the next life, justice became the main actor

¹⁹³ González Eyzaguirre, *Pastoral sobre la Cuestión Social*, in González, *El Arzobispo del Centenario*, 378.

¹⁹⁴ Rücker, “Historia del movimiento obrero” in León, “Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá,” 119. “El mutualismo tiene... una interesante función social que llevar... impidiendo que los obreros caigan en las filas comunistas... y prepararlos para acogerse a las ventajas del sindicato.”

¹⁹⁵ Mariano Casanova, *Pastoral sobre la propaganda de doctrinas irreligiosas y antisociales*, in Grez-Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 405.

¹⁹⁶ Martín Rücker, “La acción católica,” in *Conferencias Populares*, Segunda Serie, 1915, 173. “...se cumplan de un modo amplio los dictados de la justicia ante todo, y después si fuera necesario, los de la caridad.”

¹⁹⁷ Fernando Vives, “La Caridad, virtud social”, January 8, 1933, *La Unión*, and “Caridad y Justicia,” October 29, 1932, *La Unión*, both in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 273 and 258.

because it recognized that problems have to be resolved, not simply accepted as part of suffering that would be compensated in eternity. It was, following the argument of Fernando Berríos commented above, a secularization of the Church that allowed them to understand that they could not longer only offer spiritual consolation. This is how the Church tried to dialogue with modernity and also try to stop laicism in society. Vives was well aware of this: “Social Catholicism is a decisive reaction against laicization of society... It is the true evidence for the poor that God is concerned for them and that the Catholic Church is working in favor of them as well.”¹⁹⁸ Vives also said that justice was “basically a natural virtue that should be acquired ... its origin is very human.”¹⁹⁹

Among the others priests, Vives elaborated in detail the different notions of justice: “The principle of *commutative justice* “*do ut facias*” (I give that may do) that rules legislation about employment contract and the economy of nineteenth and twentieth centuries, bring about, indefectibly, misery and social conflict. This concept has to be substituted by the notion of *social justice*... as both the popes Leo XIII and Pius XI have said.”²⁰⁰ Social justice must be introduced at least because of “fairness toward dignity of people.”²⁰¹ Vives added that social justice meant that what the worker earned should not

¹⁹⁸ Fernando Vives, “Catolicismo Social y Catolicismo,” February 22nd, 1934, *La Unión*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 375. “El catolicismo social... es una reacción decisiva contra el regimen de laicización de la sociedad... es la prueba viva, para el pueblo, que Dios se ocupa de él y que la Iglesia se ocupa de él.”

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Fernando Vives, “¿Qué valor doctrinal tienen las Encíclicas *Rerum Novarum* y *Quadragesimo Anno*?,” March 5th, 1932, *La Revista Católica*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 146. “El principio de *justicia conmutativa* “*do ut facias*,” que rige la legislación sobre el contrato de trabajo y la economía de los siglos XIX y XX, lleva lógica e indefectiblemente al desequilibrio, a la miseria, al conflicto social. Hay que sustituir este concepto por el de *justicia social*: con sus consecuencias de salario familiar, pequeña propiedad, agremiación obrera, etc., como León XIII y Pío XI han dicho.”

²⁰¹ Ibid., 150.

be only for eating everyday, his wage must be enough for him also to be able to save money for the future and, in this way, for helping to prevent accident, illnesses and old age.²⁰²

This meaning of society also meant a change on the relationship between rich and poor, although never forgetting paternalism. Employers had to help workers like a father because they all were brothers. As such, everybody, rich and poor alike, had to be treated with dignity. “Rich people must look at the poor as their brothers, to be interested in their fortune and help them when they are needed. Poor people, on the other hand, must get the necessary means for living through an honest job and a decent behavior.”²⁰³

As has been demonstrated, unlike the idea of the enlightened society envisioned by the elite, the Catholic Church preserved the idea of a hierarchical society. The time for a society in which everyone’s dignity as a human being could be respected, and all could have the opportunity to be whatever they wanted to be was (is, I would say) still far off. However, the action of these priests in recognizing injustices and the importance of the dignity of the poor, was the first necessary step to begin the changes.

Conclusion

The publication of the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) marked a milestone in Catholic social teaching. This document incorporated in a more prominent way the concept of justice, pairing it with charity in the struggle against divisions caused by “the economic dictatorship” that magnified separations between social classes. “Loftier and

²⁰² Fernando Vives, “El Derecho de Propiedad,” March 1st, 1932, *La Unión*, in Sagredo, ed., *Fernando Vives Solar*, 154.

²⁰³ Casanova, *Pastoral... sobre la condición de los obreros*, in Grez-Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 380.

nobler principles, social justice and social charity, must -Pope Pius XI said- be sought whereby this dictatorship may be governed firmly and fully.”²⁰⁴ In 1931, when the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* was published, the Chilean Catholic Church decided to publish a pamphlet with the two encyclicals, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. In the brief introduction, the Apostolic Administrator, José Horacio Campillo, made a call to the clergy:

Go everywhere, equipped with true science, full of spirits of justice and equity, armed with charity of Christ; go to every place, in the company of the faithful persons who want to participate in Catholic Action, teaching what the Pope teaches in these documents, because that is Catholic social teaching, because that is the word of Jesus.²⁰⁵

The four priests studied in this report represent the beginning of the process in which the Catholic Church joined the debate about the Social Question. As was studied in this report, this evolution, started in 1891, responded to the political, social and economical inequalities in Chilean society and the lack of interest of the elite in resolving these inequalities. The elite opted for charity action that were part of the their fear of the social disorder, which was represented by socialism. In this context, the Pope Leo XIII published the *Rerum Novarum*. By recognizing the injustice of the condition of the working class, the Encyclical showed the wish of the Catholic Church to dialogue with modernity. The Encyclical, also, represented the foundation of the Catholic social

²⁰⁴ *Quadragesimo Anno*, Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, in http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno_en.html (Accessed November 11, 2009).

²⁰⁵ León XIII and Pío XI, *Las Enseñanzas Sociales de la Iglesia: Rerum Novarum, Quadragesimo Anno, 1891-1931* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1931), 5. “Armados de verdadera ciencia, llenos de espíritus de justicia y de equidad, revestidos de la caridad de Cristo, id por todas partes, acompañados por los fieles que quieran tomar parte en la Acción Católica, enseñando lo que le Papa enseña en estos documentos, porque esa es la doctrina social de la Iglesia, porque esa es la palabra de Jesús.”

teaching. Nevertheless, it did not mean that the Catholic Church resigned some of its principles. In the case of Chile, as the lives and thoughts of Casanova, González, Rücker and Vives demonstrated, the Chilean Catholic thought had changes but also continuities. The major change was the more relevant role that justice had along with charity. The last was not enough as a solution for facing the Social Question. At the same time, the Catholic Church still kept the idea of a hierarchical society instead of promoting social mobility.

Despite these permanencies, however, Mariano Casanova, José Ignacio González, Martín Rücker and Fernando Vives also are the first step towards the big changes in Social Catholicism that came up in the 1940s. The Jesuit Alberto Hurtado, a disciple of Fernando Vives, had returned from Europe in 1936. By the forties, he had been appointed director of the *Acción Católica Chilena* making a deep impact on the Chilean youth; had written polemical books in which he questioned the catholicity of Chilean society; and, his most popular and perdurable work still today, had founded the *Hogar de Cristo* in order to provide housing for the poor. One of his most popular sentences is “the poor is Christ.” As a disciple of Fernando Vives, he continued his mentor’s emphasis on justice:

There are many who are willing to do “charity,” but they do not accept to observe justice, they are willing to give alms but not to pay a fair wage. Although it seems weird, it is easier to be “charitable” (although only apparently, of course) than fair. Such alleged charity it is not real because the actual charity starts where the justice stops. Charity without justice will not finish social abyss but it will engender a deep resentment. Injustice causes more ills than charity can remedy... The one who feels superior likes to have a protectionist attitude over the protégé. On the contrary, justice keeps equality between everybody.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Alberto Hurtado, *Humanismo Social*, 2nd ed. (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1984), 93. “Hay muchos que están dispuestos a hacer ‘la caridad,’ pero no se resignan a cumplir con la justicia, están dispuestos a dar limosnas, pero no a pagar el salario justo. Aunque parezca extraño es más fácil ser ‘caritativo’ (claro

Hurtado's words make a wonderful summary of the evolution of the ideas studied in this report. It is impossible to know how much Hurtado could have influenced the evolution of Social Catholicism, given his premature death in 1952, when he was only 51 years old.²⁰⁷ How would his thought have developed when politics flooded the public debates and public opinion during the Cold War? As Ana María Bidegaín has explored, the participation of Catholics in public space changed greatly in the 1960s when Catholic Action, due to the more relevant role of politics, lost its importance and most of its laity took part in Liberation Theology.²⁰⁸ Later, during the dictatorships in the 1970s and 1980s, the defense of human rights from the Catholic Church makes this political feature stronger. In the present day, the situation has changed again. Since the middle of the 1990s, the Chilean Catholic Church, as an institution, has lost touch with many people because it is perceived by society as a very traditional institution focused only on moral issues such as abortion and divorce, rather than on social problems such as the distribution of wealth.²⁰⁹ The separation from more Chilean people has increased also because laymen but not the Catholic hierarchy have stood out in creating social organizations that focused on improving the living condition of the poor, as one hundred

que sólo en apariencia) que justo. Tal pretendida caridad no lo es, porque la verdadera caridad comienza donde termina la justicia. Caridad sin justicia no salvará los abismos sociales, sino que creará un profundo resentimiento. La injusticia causa, enormemente, más males de los que puede reparar la caridad... Al que se siente superior le halaga tomar una actitud de proteccionismo que lo sitúa sobre el protegido. En cambio la justicia mantiene a todos los hombres en un pie de absoluta igualdad.”

²⁰⁷ I do not dismiss here the huge influence of Alberto Hurtado in the creation of a feeling in the Chilean society around solidarity. His popularity after his death increased a great deal thanks to the work of the *Hogar de Cristo*, which allowed him to be recognized as Saint by the Vatican in 2005.

²⁰⁸ Ana María Bidegaín, *From Catholic Action to Liberation Theology: The Historical Process of the Laity in Latin America in the Twentieth Century*, working paper 48 ed. (Notre Dame: The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 1985).

²⁰⁹ María Angélica Cruz, *Iglesia, represión y memoria* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2004).

years before, but, this time, the political ideas or the religion of their members do not matter.²¹⁰

From this point, some interesting possibilities for future research develop. First, this work can contribute to future research on the configuration of identity of the workers as a social group. This topic has been monopolized by the leftist historiography, which offers an enormous corpus of research about this. However, the focus has been on a political perspective, but the study of the impact of Social Catholicism on the working class can help to get a more complete picture of the past. For example, when talking about Rücker as Archbishop in Chillán, Marco León said that “The Archbishop did not understand that workers associations that supported socialism were an instance where popular people could obtain awareness of their identity.”²¹¹ What kind of identity does León talk about? It seems sometimes that workers’ identity has to do only with a political –leftist– meaning, while, of course, identities are formed by different sources.

Another attractive possibility is to make an extensive work by incorporating more priests in the analysis and try to identify the networks in which the clergy moved and developed. For example, how did Martín Rücker and the Jesuit Jorge Fernández Pradel, who was one of the closest collaborators of Fernando Vives, meet? Or what about the friendship between Mariano Casanova, whose ideas can be considered moderate, and José María Caro, who became Archbishop of Santiago in 1939, the first Chilean Cardinal

²¹⁰ The last two directors of one of these organizations, *Un Techo Para Chile*, for example, participated in the presidential campaigns in 2009; one supported the candidate of the right, and the other one the candidate from the center and leftist political parties.

²¹¹ León, “Obispado de Chillán, Primera Parte,” 151. “El obispo no comprendía que el movimiento obrero también era una instancia para que los sujetos populares tomaran una clara conciencia de su identidad.”

in 1946 and who, due to his social ideas, was called by some sectors of society, the “Red Cardinal?” Such future studies could shed more light on the evolution of the ideas of the Chilean Catholic Church.

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